

WORKS IN PROGRESS

VOLUME 7, No. 12

THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION

APRIL 1997

"The best index to a person's character is how he treats people who can't do him any good, and how he treats people who can't fight back." Abigail Van Buren

Homeless Told To Leave County As Solution

Pat Tassoni

Recently, a Thurston County Crisis Clinic flier suggested homeless people leave the county as an option for getting shelter assistance. The flier claims, "Thurston County has very limited emergency shelter."

It goes on to read:

"* Can you leave the county? There are more shelters available in the Tacoma and Seattle areas..."

* Can you get creative? Is camping an option? Can your children stay with a friend, relative, or temporary foster care?"

When Vista-volunteer Kory Wilder got a peek at the flier on March 17th as it was presented to the Housing Task Force meeting, she called it an embarrassment to the county and walked out. The Task Force members defended and endorsed it and mass production of it got underway. The flier, originally designed as a resource guide, was to be given to people coming out of jail. Through media outreach, Wilder brought the flier to the service provid-

ers' and the public's attention, where it has created quite a stir.

No Room at the Inn?

The stir didn't start here locally as Wilder upon contacting the *Olympian* was told that they were concentrating on flooding stories and there probably wouldn't be room for the story. The *Seattle PI* and King 5 News however

ding me!' exclaimed the Rev. Rick Reynolds, director of a Seattle emergency shelter referral agency....Reynolds said his agency, Operation Nightwatch, recorded 164 homeless people looking for shelter Thursday night [March 20th], 'which is triple from two years ago. We turned away 37 men and three women -- meaning there was no shelter for those

A more direct approach for the Crisis Clinic and Emergency Housing Network would be for them to just say: "Go away, however it takes because everything we do is going to reflect that we don't want to help."

decided to run the story, both on Saturday, March 22nd. Their focus was on the apparent pushing of Thurston County responsibility to another city/county (theirs!).

Quoting from the PI's story by Katy Johansson:

"In Seattle, some shelter operators were incredulous when told of the information sheet. 'You've got to be kid-

people.' he said."

Local folks know that the issue is really one of passing the buck. The Crisis Clinic flier lists four shelters in Thurston county, including the Salvation Army and the Emergency Housing Network, but presents them as if they are overloaded. There is more room available than is used to provide shelter to our community's homeless, but

inappropriate standards prevent that from happening.

The Olympia Salvation Army has not been full since December says the PI. The reason homeless people don't stay at the Salvation Army is because they can't -- there are 160 men on the denial list, some women too. People are denied for reasons such as being wheelchair bound, not making "forward progress", time limits, alcohol abuse, etc.

The 32-degree shelter run by the Emergency Housing Network was impractical to meeting homeless needs - it was a logistical nightmare, saddled with coordination and transportation problems; and was ineffective because of the requisite degrading background check. (They still managed however to provide 130 bed/nights, even though they weren't open every night the temperature went below 32 degrees.)

Blaming the Victim

Little needs to be said to express the callous attitude of the county when it suggests homeless people camp during record rains and floods. Or to suggest they break up their families as an option. A more direct approach for the Crisis Clinic and Emergency Housing Network would be for them to just say: "Go away, however it takes because everything we do is going to reflect that we don't want to help."

By Any Other Name...

Local activists think the flier accurately addresses the county's sentiment towards dealing with homelessness as demonstrated in the past. When forced to acknowledge a "problem" they quickly and consistently try to minimize it and push it away. Now they have actually put that into writing. The Crisis Clinic has taken the flier wording under advisement -- although will they/can they do the same with their sentiments?

It is clear what is needed is more community responsibility and an alternative shelter system. (Recently, St. Michael's Church has risen to the occasion to provide shelter as did the First Baptist Church a few years ago.)

Hopefully what can come out of this fiasco is also a coordinated attempt of the counties to approach state and federal levels for funds, continuing funds, affordable housing and other long-term solutions, rather than in-fighting for short-term resources.

Emergency Housing Network coordinator and the Housing Task Force leader, Dick Hinkle, resigned his position following the controversy.

Incidentally, the *Olympian* ran the PI story on Sunday, the 23rd along with another story profiling Common Meals, a program providing 7000 meals a week through their cafe, Head Start, and shelters. Apparently there is room in the *Olympian* when they decide it is a priority.

From The Ground Up Conference

WIP News Service

Last August, during the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, 700 radical and anarchist activists met for Active Resistance, a well organized conference focused on building a revolutionary movement and community. It reminded us to think strategically, always asking ourselves, "what are the critical steps necessary to make our vision of a better society a reality?" Inspired by Active Resistance, Activists in Olympia have been meeting regularly since last November to organize From the Ground Up: a regional social justice activist skills building conference to be held at the Evergreen State College from May 9-11th. From the Ground Up is aimed at creating, maintaining, and fostering active social change. The conference organizers have planned it with the following goals in mind:

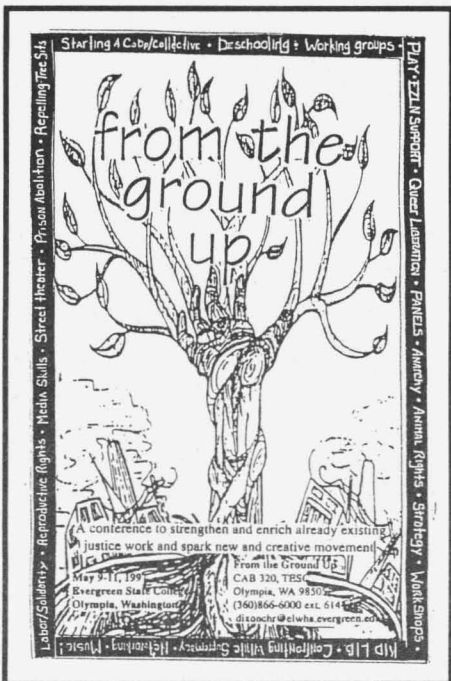
- * To strengthen and enrich already existing activist work and spark new and creative movement.
 - * To help activists be more effective organizers with specific skills training workshops.
 - * To initiate new concrete projects organized by participants.
- From the Ground Up will bring to-

gether 300 activists to focus on skills building workshops and long term project working groups. The workshop sessions are a time for participants to share skills and experience. We want to emphasize skills that can be applied broadly to many struggles as opposed to those that are issue specific. We also hope to facilitate skills sharing in such a way that participants can bring those skills back to their own communities and groups. Project working groups are opportunities for activists from around the Northwest to start to

work on and coordinate long term region wide projects, such as a Network of Activist Skills Trainers, a Northwest Activist Journal, and Local Activist Fairs. Workshops and project working groups will be supplemented with panel discussions, films, music, and informal networking. From the Ground Up will foster strong opposition and alternatives to the current society. We hope this conference will be a renewal, an inspiration, and that it will cultivate creative and enjoyable forms of activism. Above all, we want it to encourage everyone of us to be more ambitious, reflective, and visionary about the work that we are currently doing.

An Invitation:

We need you to participate! We need your ideas, your creativity, your energy, your hands. There is a lot of work that needs to be done between now and May 9th. We have planning meetings every Monday night at the Evergreen State College Library Building in Room 2219 at 6pm. If you can't make the meetings but still want to help, or if you need to contact us for any other reason we can be reached at: From the Ground Up CAB 320 The Evergreen State College Olympia, WA 98505 (360)866-6000 ext. 6144 dixonchr@elwha.evergreen.edu http://agora.rdrop.com/~bortec/ftgu



LETTERS & NEWS BRIEFS

Make the Police Accountable to the Community

The Olympia City Council is sponsoring a series of events about its department of police. The Olympia Planning Commission is directing these efforts, which are focused on defining police philosophy and policy for the City Comprehensive Plan.

They will address these and related questions:

What are the community's expectations for the nature of police service?

What are the policing priorities?

How should the community as a whole be involved in defining overall priorities on an on-going basis?

What facilities are needed to provide the desired type and level of police services?

The police of a community are usually the most noticeable workers of city government, the most visible and often the most feared and controversial. It is important they be accountable to the community, despite the difficulties involved in accomplishing this accountability.

The series of events aimed at involving citizens in answering the questions above start in April and continue into the summer.

Often this kind of exercise is directed at the traditional stereotypical and Anglo Saxon family of four, who are supposed to see the police as their friends, a thin blue line separating them from the rest of us.

The rest of need to step forward and speak up this time for equal representation.

Call Pete Swensson at the Planning Commission for the schedule of these events 786-5745.

We need the police, unfortunately. And we need them to be accountable to the community.

Frank Hoffman

Teach Limited English Proficiency

Dear Editor:

I would like to offer a rebuttal to Mr. Grant's editorial entitled "English-Only: Racist Rhetoric in a Multicultural Milieu."

In Mr. Grant's article, he quotes Ron Taber's now famous remark, which was splashed across the pages of virtually every daily newspaper in Washington state, and for which Taber was vilified as a racist. What Grant does not say is that the quote was taken out of context in a speech before the Washington Hispanic Chamber of Commerce. The media did not bother to inquire about the nature of that speech, the crux of which was that students need to learn English (as taught in Limited English Proficient (LEP)/English as a Second Language (ESL) classes.) Dr. Taber proposed they should have the opportunity to become business people or professionals if they choose; that they not be relegated to the hand-to-mouth existence of the common laborer by virtue of the fact that they cannot function in the prevailing language of the land in which they live. (Spanish speakers are not alone in this disability. Many children growing up in English-only households are in the same

boat by virtue of the fact that they are not learning proper English either.)

Mr. Grant cites the "...literary contributions of Spanish and Latin American authors, [stating that they]...and doctors, dentists, and lawyers throughout Latin America practice their professions in their native tongue - Spanish" (emphasis mine.) If the United States were a country whose major language — that of government, media, and business — were Spanish, Mr. Grant would have a valid point. The United States, however, is not a Latin American country, nor is its major language Spanish. And I defy Mr. Grant to find any country whose major language is not English which will accept English-only speakers with open arms and set up special classes for their children to be taught in English while the rest of the school is learning in the language of that country. This is, however, the essence of the bilingual program used in our elementary schools, as defined by the federal title programs.

In the bilingual program, as opposed to the ESL and LEP programs (which sometimes work the way they should, and sometimes are implemented by good teachers,) kindergarten through third-grade students are being taught to speak, read and write in their native (or ancestral) language. These are the optimum years for learning any language, yet educators claim they will be able to learn English faster and better when it is introduced to them later. Teachers have even been "disciplined" for teaching bilingual kindergartners to speak (gasp!) English, although the vast majority of these children are not new immigrants. They were born in the United States and have lived here their entire lives.

Unfortunately, the reality is that our human nature of meeting the demand and no more takes over, along with the bureaucracy. Without considerable effort on the part of themselves

(Continued page 10)

Friday Nights at Liberation Cafe

4th - 6pm Potluck; 7pm video showing of *The Panama Deception* w/ discussion.

11th - 7pm - Taxes In The U.S.: Who Really Pays? A discussion with Political Economist Peter Bohmer.

18th - 7pm - ArtWalk Display of Women's Artwork. (Call 352-4415 to get your artwork there).

25th - 7pm - Tim Wise, renown author and activist will speak on political movement of the far right and backlash against liberal social policy. \$3 suggested.

Other Events

April 8, Tuesday - 7pm - Abe Osheroff, veteran of Spanish Civil War and longtime activist talks about Abraham Lincoln Brigade involvement in the war.

Weekly Events:

Mondays at 7pm: Spanish Class;
Thursdays at 3pm: Books For Prisoners;
Thursdays at 5:30pm: Poetry Group

*Office Hours 3pm-7pm
Wed., Thurs., Sat.*

*General Meeting:
Every Wednesday at 7pm*

Liberation Cafe recently filled two part-time organizing/coordinating positions. Welcome Tara and Amy to the job. Work continues on making the space hospitable and the coffee cart will be completed in April. Thanks to our current renters: Books for Prisoners, Olympia AIDS Prevention Project/Youth Project, Riot Grrrl Press, Works In Progress, Committee in Solidarity with the People of Mexico.

Need info? Got ideas?

116 4th Ave - downtown Oly
(Top Floor of Bulldog News)

Call Liberation Cafe 352-7336

WIP Schedule

Submission Deadline:

Friday, April 18

6pm at Liberation Cafe

Proofreading Meeting

Tuesday, April 22

7 pm at Liberation Cafe

Advertising Info

→ **Tara Perkins**
at 352-4415
→ **Dave Campbell**
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WORKS IN PROGRESS

Mission Statement: "Our aim is to confront injustice and encourage a participatory democracy based on economic, social, and environmental justice. *Works In Progress* is dedicated to providing a voice for those most affected by the exclusionary and unfair practices that seek to silence the oppressed."

Anti-Discrimination Clause: We will collectively endeavor to be sensitive and respectful to all those oppressed in this society, and their issues. However, if and when we should make a mistake in this regard, we expect to acknowledge it and to express regret for injury or insult given.

The following statement will become part of the Editorial Policy and will be the governing tool for the Anti-Discrimination Clause: *WIP will make every effort to work with the contributor of material considered by WIP to be offensive in order to reach a mutually agreed upon resolution, but WIP reserves the right as a last resort to edit or not print submitted material.*

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Patty Imani	Marie Smith
Teresa Jennings	Sylvia Smith
Jerome Johnson	Pat Tassoni
Evelyn Montague	Scott Yoos
Wendy Ortiz	Dave Zink

Works In Progress is a community newspaper sponsored by the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition. Opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the Rainbow Coalition or the Workers In Progress and are solely those of the authors.

Correspondence/articles are always welcome. Articles on disk (text preferred). WIP reserves the right to publish in whole or part all submissions. For editing purposes, please enclose your phone number. Send submissions to Works In Progress, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507.

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APRIL 1997

WIP Calendars
Available Now!!

Prayer of the Farm Workers' Struggle

Show me the suffering of the most miserable;
So I will know my people's plight.

Free me to pray for others;
For you are present in every person.

Help me take responsibility for my own life;
So that I can be free at last.

Grant me courage to serve others;
For in service there is true life.

Give me honesty and patience;
So that I can work with other workers.

Bring forth song and celebration;
So that the Spirit will be alive among us.

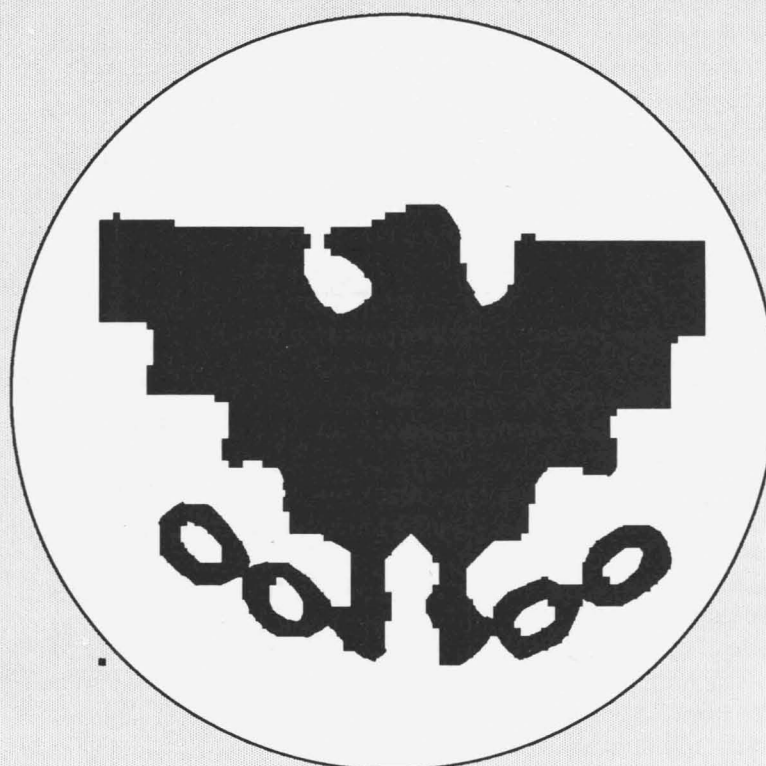
Let the Spirit flourish and grow;
So that we will never tire of the struggle.

Let us remember those who have died for justice;
For they have given us life.

Help us love even those who hate us;
So we can change the world.

Amen.

Written by Cesar E. Chavez, UFW Founder (1927-1993)



Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
MARCH S M T W T F S 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	MAY S M T W T F S 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	1 1920 New York legislature expels five of its duly elected members after hearing them admit that they are socialists	2 1864- Congress authorizes "In God We Trust" on all coins. 1904- 14 African-Americans lynched in Arkansas	3 1995 - Government announces that it will cost \$230-350 to clean up decades of nuclear weapons production	4 1995 - Dow breaks 4200 mark 1995 - Lowry appoints first woman State Patrol chief, Annette Sandberg	5 1939- German government orders all children aged 10 to 13 to register and serve in the Hitler Youth Organization
6 <i>spring forward</i> 1995 - Bill Clayton, 17, and Sam Schaefer, 16, are attacked on Olympia High School campus by two Rochester teens	7 <i>full moon</i> 1915- Billie Holliday born 1919- Belgium: 160,000 women sign petition demanding universal suffrage	8 1908-Pres. Roosevelt announces injunction requiring equal railway accommodations for African-Americans in South	9 1939- Marian Anderson sang at Lincoln Monument for 75,000 blacks/whites 1996 - Clinton signs line-item veto	10 1946- Japanese women vote for the first time 1996- Clinton vetoes anti-late-term abortion bill	11 1995 - Olympia: Environmentalists/timber workers rally for the Jobs and Environment Watershed Restoration program	12 1996- Pacific Fisheries Management Council keeps ocean waters ban of salmon fishing to protect chinook/coho stocks
13 1966- MLK, Jr. denounces Vietnam War which he said was "rapidly degenerating into a sordid military adventure"	14 1995 - Three hundred gather at Sylvester Park in support of two Olympia High School students attacked on April 6	15 1919 India: British troops kill 400 Indians demonstrating 1995 - Rally at Capitol protesting "Contract on America"	16 1906- Four strikers are killed as 5,000 coal workers battle one-hundred deputy sheriffs in Johnstown, Pennsylvania	17 1995 - Supreme Court upholds claims of two white men that they were victims of discrimination due to affirmative action	18 1995 - American Rivers listed the Columbia River system as an endangered river, and the Elwha and Skokomish threatened	19 1996- Chief Wurner began an open-ended sick leave. Wurner said his doctor asked him to take a few sick days off
20 1948- President of the United Automobile Workers Union, Walter Reuther, is seriously wounded by unidentified assailant	21 1914- 1,000 U S Marines seize Vera Cruz, Mexico 1962- Century 21 Exposition in Seattle is opened to the public	22 <i>new moon</i> 1915- For first time in World War I, Germany uses poison gas, chlorine Earth Day	23 1963- William Moore, a white man, is killed in Alabama staging a one-man "Freedom Walk" against segregation	24 1933- Chicago schoolteachers storm Chicago banks demanding back pay They had not been paid in 10 months	25 1918- Ella Fitzgerald born 1959- Mack Parker is lynched in Poplarville, Mississippi	26 1995 - Fleetwood forum held, two hundred attend to ask questions of LIHI, city counsel members and opponents
27 1902- Rioting Russian peasants destroy 80 estates 1902- Eight girls killed in panic at Philadelphia factory	28 1996- US/Israel agreed to jointly develop a laser weapon to help defend Israel against Hezbollah rockets	29 1995 - Peace Run: Dennis Banks encourages return to a natural life, to stay away from drugs, alcohol and the streets	30 1906- Twenty striking miners shot by state troopers in Pennsylvania 1911- Portugal authorizes women to vote	Send _____ copies of the WIP Calendar at \$15 each. Name: _____ Address: _____ City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____ Mail to Works In Progress, PO Box 295, Olympia WA 98507-0295		

Along the Color Line**The Symbols of Prejudice****Dr. Manning Marable**

When I was seventeen years old, I lived in an African-American community in Dayton, Ohio. Like many other idealistic young people in the late 1960s, I was involved in a number of activities and protests. I was the leader of the youth group at St. Margaret's Episcopal Church, which had a predominantly African-American congregation. I deeply believed that the church had to be in the forefront of the struggles for social justice. And as an outward sign of my faith, I often wore a small cross, attached around my neck by a thin, gold-plated chain.

It was around Eastertime, and one afternoon I went with my father to do some shopping at the small suburban mall located on the all-black westside. At the mall's only department store, I noticed a display of shiny, new crosses, being sold at one counter. The crosses were designed in a style that seemed both contemporary and original: metallic, curved contours with sharp flat edges at all four corners. I decided to purchase one. After leaving the store, I placed the cross held by its small chain around my neck.

I then remembered that I had left my watch to be repaired at the mall's jewelry store. The shop was owned by a friendly merchant, about sixty-five years old, who happened to be Jewish. I went into the store, gave the merchant my ticket stub to retrieve my watch, and asked what was owed for the repairs. He looked at me oddly, and froze in mid-sentence. I immediately sensed something was wrong.

The storeowner asked, "Do you know what you are wearing?" "A cross," I replied. There was silence. Then the Jewish man said, "Do you know what that symbol means?" The cross I had innocently purchased was a replica of the infamous "Iron Cross," the medalion worn by German troops and SS guards of Hitler's Third Reich a generation before. Rolling up his shirt

sleeve, the old man showed me an oddly shaped tattoo embedded on his arm, consisting of numbers. "The men who gave this to me, also wore that cross you are wearing now."

My initial response was confusion. Yes, I knew about the Holocaust and the Nazis, but that didn't have anything to do with me or my new cross. Besides, black people had no responsibility or connection with the terrible things that had happened to Jews, so

cross of the Ku Klux Klan is a vivid symbol negating the humanity of black people.

There is an urgent need for all of us to historicize the dynamics of oppression. We are all witnesses to each other's history. We cannot in good conscience say that historical responsibility ends when each successive generation disappears from the scene. When evil is generated, it has a life of its own, and it cannot be destroyed by

There is an urgent need for all of us to historicize the dynamics of oppression. We are all witnesses to each other's history. We cannot in good conscience say that historical responsibility ends when each successive generation disappears from the scene.

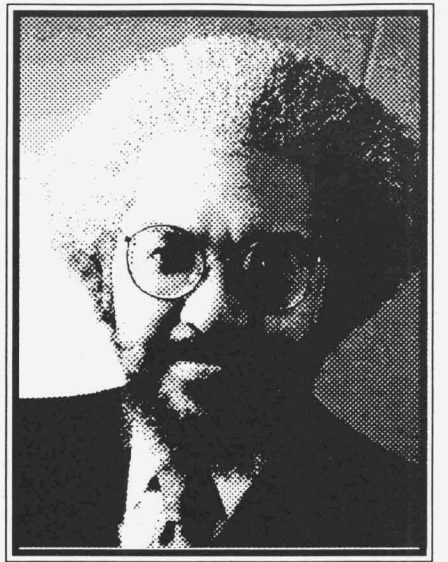
many years before. But the older man was not trying to provoke a confrontation. With a sorrowful expression, he just accepted my money for the watch, handed me the change, and turned away.

I had no real knowledge of this man's pain: his existence in a Nazi concentration camp, the loss of his family and friends, the nightmares that must surely have haunted him for years.

Nearly thirty years have passed since that encounter. I have no knowledge about what happened to this Jewish shopkeeper. But I have often wished that I could have spoken with him again, to talk about what had happened that day. The iron cross and the swastika were symbols of hatred and inhumanity. But equally hateful are the symbols that were used to reinforce racism and exploitation against my own people. The Confederate battle flag which adorns everything from bars to car bumper stickers, symbolically represents the defense of human slavery. The burning

forgetting or not learning the lessons of the past.

In the U. S. today, there is a direct connection between culture, representation and power. Our society generally worships the symbols of authority, and celebrates hierarchies. We applaud those who are wealthy, and despise the poor. Individuals are all too often judged by their market value, rather than by their character as human beings. Our economy glorifies the production of commodities above the development of our young people. Our government deals with



poverty by imprisoning the black, brown and the poor. The structures of power and privilege deny real opportunity to millions of people.

The great strength and power of the Black Freedom Movement in the U. S. has been its capacity to link politics with morality. What we have fought for is a world without stereotypes, without the oppressive symbols that divide and destroy people from each other. The real challenge before us in the construction of a real democracy in America is in learning to listen to our mutual voices and histories. We must "speak truth to power" to reclaim our common humanity.

Dr. Manning Marable is Professor of History and the Director of the Institute for Research in African-American Studies, Columbia University, New York City. "Along the Color Line" appears in over 300 publications throughout the U.S. and internationally. ♦

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From the Inside Out You Can Run, But You Can't Hide

Dan Pens

I was shooting the breeze the other day with another prisoner. He remarked about the many years I've been imprisoned (nearly 16), and he asked me if I could start my sentence over again, would I like to be put into a suspended animation pod.

"They could wake you up when it's time for you to leave," he said. "Would you do that if you could?"

"Heavens no!" I said without hesitation. Then I sighed. This wasn't the first time I'd heard the suspended animation fantasy. You hear it mostly from younger prisoners, men who are just beginning their sentence or who are serving short one- or two-year stints. I'll tell you now what I said to him:

There has not been one day of my life that has been without meaning. So I'm in prison. So what? Does this mean that my life is meaningless? Far from it.

For, as much as I speak out against the U.S. criminal (in)justice system, as plain as it is to me that locking up 1.7 million people is insanity on a grand scale, I have to admit something about my own experience of imprisonment - something that I have heard from other men over the years.

When I was arrested, I needed to be locked up. My life was out of control. Talk about dysfunctional. I was twenty-five years old and my life was in such disarray it's a wonder that I made it as long as I did before getting myself killed; overdosing on drugs or otherwise killing myself; or being arrested, convicted and imprisoned years earlier.

Looking back on it, the problem seems clear. I missed one of the essential lessons in life. The first and most important lesson anybody needs to learn: Life is difficult. It's a struggle. Life isn't "fair," and everybody has to overcome the pain and suffering that comes their way.

You see, I didn't understand that life is tough. I thought everything was supposed to come easy. When it didn't, I thought there was something wrong - something wrong with me or something wrong with the way the world was treating me. I just didn't get it.

I had a lot going for me. I came from a "good (middle-class) family." I was intelligent and talented. I enjoyed the "privilege" endowed by having white skin in a fundamentally racist society. Maybe that's part of why I thought things would be easy.

Another reason may have been that my childhood was incredibly rocky (tumultuous, contentious, and unpredictable). I guess that should have been a clue. But, for whatever reason, I assumed that everything would somehow work out better when I grew up. I couldn't wait. How many times had I heard: "Wait until you grow up," "You'll understand when you get older," and a score of variations on that theme. So instead of learning how to cope with the difficulties presented by my childhood, I just waited. I'd ride out the storm. Everything would

be okay when I grew up.

That's where I missed the second big lesson of life. Lesson 1: Life is difficult. Lesson 2: You learn how to cope.

Compared to lesson two, the first one is simple. You've only got to learn one concept to graduate from lesson one. Lesson two is the really hard part. For, in order to cope, you have to develop hundreds of skills. I didn't. I learned two skills: avoid and escape.

And this is the part that I hear from

that my freedom was revoked. I found myself in prison.

For awhile I practiced the only skills I knew. Problem is, though, there are not many options in prison when it comes to avoiding and escaping. There's a popular saying in the joint: "You can run but you can't hide." I tried to hide. There was nowhere to go. For the first time ever, my life was right in my face. I no longer had the freedom to ignore it. I had to look at it. And I had to deal with it.

There has not been one day of my life that has been without meaning. So I'm in prison. So what? Does this mean that my life is meaningless? Far from it.

as many other prisoners, especially the older ones who have had a few years to study their life and discover its secrets. Out there in the world, there is no end to the number of ways you can avoid or escape. If you don't want to cope (or don't know how), you can: get atoned, move to a different neighborhood or city, quit your job, lie, cheat, steal, rob, rape, stay drunk, join the military, go AWOL from the military, get married, cheat on your spouse, get divorced, jump from bar to bar, relationship to relationship, job to job.

Like I said, if you don't want to cope, there is always an out, a way to avoid or escape responsibility. With freedom comes responsibility. With it also, however, comes the choice to be irresponsible, to live a dysfunctional life. If that's the way you choose to live, freedom allows you to do as. Until you hurt somebody else.

Now, we could talk about the nature of crime. And I think most people would agree that it boils down to hurting others. Of course, sometimes people are hurt on an enormous scale (laying off 40,000 workers, throwing a million children into poverty with one stroke of a pen on a Welfare Bill, dumping thousands of tons of toxic waste into a river, ad nauseam), and our criminal (in)justice system doesn't define those hideous acts as "crimes." But that aside, most of what is traditionally defined as crime boils down to the same thing: You hurt somebody.

I hurt a lot of people. Too many. For



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FREE BANG TRIMS



from a lot of older prisoners. Maybe because you can ride out the first five years or so. But after that, you're nearly forced to begin learning the lessons life has to offer. You can run, but you can't hide.

I see the parole board later this year. My fate is in their hands. If they let me go, I can take what I've learned and see if I can apply it out in the world - the big, wide, world, where there is a lot of room to run and plenty of places to hide. I think I'll do okay, though. I'm through running. And regardless of what decision the parole board makes, I don't need to be "out there" in order for my life to have meaning. This prison is just a building with a fence around it. I broke out of a much worse prison years ago. I am already "free." I just happen to also be living in a building surrounded by a fence. Does that dictate that my life is meaningless? Far from it. I'm alive and I love every day.

My first column appeared in the May, 1996, edition of this paper. This, then, is my twelfth column. One year. Though I am not leaving prison soon, I am moving onto another chapter in my life. So I leave this column behind. Thanks for your letters. I have appreciated hearing from those who wrote. I wish you all well. So, that is about it for this month. Greetings (and farewell) from the gulag.

Dan Pens is co-editor of Prison Legal News. For a free sample issue of PLN, write to:

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Ramtha-Watch II: Science and Faith Mix Like Oil and Water

Jess Grant

The timing of JZ Knight's recent "Scholarly Conference" could not have been better. With a controversial building permit currently under review by Thurston County Development Services (see last month's Ramtha-Watch), Knight's Ramtha School of Enlightenment (RSE) needs all the friends it can get right now. In a move calculated to garner favorable publicity, RSE hosted a conference of academics this February entitled "In Search of the Self: The Role of Consciousness in the Construction of Reality." The corporate media bought it hook, line, and sinker.

The conference's mission statement stated:

"...unlike most ancient schools, Ramtha's school is immersed in contemporary culture and intellectual currents. Ms. Knight and the students believe that Ramtha's articulation of the ancient Gnostic perspective in the light of modern scientific insights has provided a foundation upon which a fruitful conversation with the academic community can build. In order to test this assumption, a small group of scholars from different academic disciplines were invited to participate in this expanded conversation which will probe an array of issues from cosmology to ethical theory to the nature of channeling."

Legitimizing religion with the trappings of science is nothing new, of course. Ever since scientists became the new secular priesthood, around the time of the industrial revolution, religious leaders have understood the need to incorporate elements of science into their dogma. Mary Baker Eddy's Church of Christ Scientist and L. Ron Hubbard's Church of Scientology, for example, have made good use of this technique. But integrating scientific rhetoric into their religious canon does nothing to mitigate the ultimate reliance on faith which lies at the heart of all religious belief.

So it is with Ramtha. No one can say definitively whether this 35,000 year-old warrior spirit from Atlantis is real. His existence is neither provable nor disprovable, despite what Knight may claim as a result of the conference. Skeptics will always doubt the outlandish claims of people like Knight, just as the faithful will flock to the pulpit. Though ridiculed in many quarters, Knight's teachings are embraced wholeheartedly by thousands of her followers.

Here's what we know for sure. A lot of folks are eager to pay good money for the chance to study at the feet of Knight's alter ego. While Ramtha may be the School's spiritual authority and sole teacher, a god-like being from another dimension in time, JZ is utterly human and in firm control of RSE's assets in this dimension. It's anybody's guess whether her channeling is truly miraculous or simply a cheap vaudeville trick, but it's great theater and the patrons pay dearly. The message matters more than the messenger.

February's conference was as carefully orchestrated a piece of theater as any of Ramtha's teach-ins. Knight is a masterful choreographer and consummate public speaker, as attuned to the nuances of public opinion as a politician. It was easy to get caught up in the self-congratulatory mood of the conference, hard not to be swayed by the loving attention of Knight's staff, the sumptuous catered food, or the plethora of Ph.D.s and movie stars (Linda Evans and I had a brief conversation about whether we were standing in the food or bathroom lines).

I saw the notice for Knight's conference only days before it began. When I rang up RSE and told them I wanted to attend, I was referred to Pavel Mikolowski of Knight's staff. Pavel asked me several blunt questions over the phone about the slant and distribution of Works in Progress. After assessing my case for a day, Pavel called me back and apologized, announcing there wasn't room for me but promising to send copies of the

proceedings. I thanked him for trying and asked him to call if there were any last-minute cancellations. Saturday afternoon, unexpectedly, he phoned to say that I could come the next morning if I wanted.

I left about 7:30 a.m. and stopped at the Rib Eye for some French toast and coffee before heading out to Yelm. As my Corolla peaked the steep rise that acts like a gateway to the Nisqually valley, a ghostly fog-bound stretch of pasture slowed my pace suddenly. I crept through the thick golden mist till

Back in the entryway I asked to see their advance materials. As I waited in the hall for an answer, I sensed a flurry behind me. From the corner of my eye I saw JZ descend the stairs from her chamber. When she reached the landing behind me a swarm of fans engulfed her with warm praise. Though I tried to ignore the commotion, the hugs and the flashing jewelry, I could feel that the star's entrance had been a grand one. The queen bee was in her element - this was her show and the aura of self-confidence was palpable.

JZ pushes the fashion envelope with a theatrical style all her own. She has bangs so big you could hang ten on a surfboard inside them. Like Jackie Onassis she remains slightly distant and tragic, a beautiful widow com-

The born-again take Knight's claim to channel very seriously, ascribing it to satanic influences. After all, a group of people who can accept that Jesus rose from the dead, and that Mary got pregnant without having sex, should have no trouble believing that Knight channels Ramtha.

the fog bank thinned, rolling into Yelm past the tall black gates of Knight's estate.

It wasn't clear which of the three ominous gates I was supposed to pull into, and it took a couple of tries before I found one with an attendant. The massive iron gate rolled slowly inward and I pulled up to a guy with a walkie-talkie. He checked my name off his clipboard and pointed me towards the waterfall ahead, set in the middle of a circular driveway. I pulled around the cascade and found a valet waiting to park my car.

Pavel met me at the entrance to Knight's house. He graciously showed me around the front rooms, helped me check my coat with the receptionist, and led me to the room where the conference would be held. In the middle of the room was a cross-shaped swimming pool lined with dazzling blue tiles. The ceiling was a pattern of fifteen pyramidal skylights. Tables were set around the pool and at one end stood the raised speakers' dais suffused with filtered high-voltage TV lights.

I needn't have stopped at the Rib Eye. Silver trays of fresh fruit, enormous tureens of coffee, and other treats waited in the wings of the pool room. Between the pool and front hall I found a library of mint condition calf-bound classics. Next to the library was a barroom filled with more wood, leather and pristine collectibles. The table was laid out with a dozen trays and chafing dishes, empty for now but promising an excellent lunch.

forted by her riches. The memory of her late husband Jeffrey cloaks her like a shawl, despite the tawdry nature of their all-too-public divorce. And like a nun, JZ is wed to a man that doesn't exist in the flesh. Ramtha haunts Knight's mansion late at night like Elvis pacing the halls of Graceland, shimmering and insubstantial.

The first speaker of the morning was historian Charles LeWarne, Ph.D. His talk, entitled "The Pride of the Prairie Encounters Ramtha," looked at how the town of Yelm had dealt with RSE's arrival. He scoured the letters section of back issues of the Nisqually Valley News, tracing the mood of the community these last ten years. He discovered that the initial reception had been hostile but that recently a more tolerant mood had prevailed.

It was no surprise to learn that the most intolerant treatment had come from Christian fundamentalists. Unlike the skeptics who merely dismiss Knight as a charlatan, the born-again take Knight's claim to channel very seriously, ascribing it to satanic influences. After all, a group of people who can accept that Jesus rose from the dead, and that Mary got pregnant without having sex, should have no trouble believing that Knight channels Ramtha.

The morning's second speaker was Gail Harley, Ph.D. Ms. Harley, a religious historian, compared JZ Knight with Helena Blavatsky (founder of Theosophy, a Gnostic precursor to RSE), Mary Baker Eddy, and Emma Curtis Hopkins (another 19th century religious founder). Using a feminist lens Harley examined the similarities between these influential women. She observed that, for 19th century women, spiritual entrepreneurship was one of the very few career

(Continued next page)

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(Ramtha, continued)

paths available to an ambitious and talented female.

The last academic paper of the morning was presented by Constance Jones Ph.D. of the California Institute of Integral Studies. She used questionnaires to assemble a demographic profile of RSE's student body. Her sample of 540 students was more than 80% female with an average age of 41. More than two-thirds of the respondents were college educated, and three-quarters were raised christian.

But all these speakers were just a warm-up for the featured performer. Though JZ was allotted only 20 minutes to respond to the 15-minute-long presentations, she wasn't about to let a public forum like this go to waste. Instead, we were treated to an hour-long version of her entire rags-to-riches life story. An accomplished speaker, Knight held her audience in thrall, interrupted only by the occasional outburst of adoring laughter or applause.

The unloved and abused daughter of migrant Texas farmworkers, Knight had rejected the hate and hypocrisy of formal christian training by the age of 13. An ugly duckling who as a child found her only comfort in talking to god, she blossomed suddenly in high school to become a popular cheerleader who dated the star quarterback (or so the story goes). She dropped out of Lubbock Business College, got married, and had two children.

One of the most fascinating passages of her talk dealt with her ex-husband Jeffrey Knight. As most people know by now, he divorced JZ in a highly-publicized trial. He later sued for additional money, arguing that she had used her power over him (as Ramtha) to manipulate an unfairly low settlement. He also came out as a gay man, and died just a few years ago from an AIDS-related disease.

Knight talked around these issues, re-inventing their marriage in the process. She idolizes Jeffrey but never mentions his homosexuality or the divorce. Instead, she made only the most oblique references to the subject, praising Jeffrey for teaching her that "god is both male and female." JZ claimed that she and her family "suffered his dilemma with him," without ever stating what that dilemma might have been.

The audience consisted of about one third scholars, one third media, and one third RSE students. When her talk was done the audience rose as a group in a standing ovation, and it took a supreme act of will to stay seated (though I clapped politely). The question and answer period consisted largely of Knight's students stepping up to the microphone to tell her how much they loved her. I could think of a couple tough questions, but the mood of the room was such that I dared not leave my seat.

Clearly, "academic objectivity" had never been on the agenda of this conference. It was tightly-controlled love-fest, calculated to add scientific legitimacy to the patently unscientific claims of Knight and her school. Next month in Ramtha-Watch III, we'll examine the way in which the mainstream media uncritically accepted her spin doctoring, and what that means for journalism and critical thinking in general. ♦

The Fork in the Capitalist Road

Ron Jacobs

It seems rather appropriate that the stock market in China didn't shut down when Deng Tsiao Ping died. After all, this Bill Clinton of the Chinese Communist party had taken the Chinese economy into the world of multinational commerce. Call it the "capitalist road" or call it "economic reform", the reality for Chinese workers and peasants is the same old story of life under monopoly capitalism. More goods, higher rents, higher profits, more labor abuses, more displacement of rural populations, more domestic abuse, and more poverty. Of course, if you happen to read the mainstream media, one would think Deng took the Chinese people out of a desperate poverty and into some kind of gilded age. That is a lie. What Deng did is open the door to the bankers in New York, Tokyo, Frankfurt, and the rest of the capitalist world. By doing so, he made some Chinese bureaucrats very rich and created a new "middle class" in China. It was Mao and the revolution he inspired that took the Chinese peasantry out of the clutches of desperate poverty. It may very well be Deng's legacy that he led a good number of them back in.

As for Russia, that other part of the world where the imperial power of the multinationals is working overtime to convince folks that corporate capitalism is better than capitalism run by the state, a large movement exists which refuse to be seduced. After all, some of them object, what's the dif-

ference between a government controlled by corporations or a government which is the corporation? The former provides a setup where the freedom to choose one brand or the other becomes the definition of free-

dom. The latter doesn't even provide that illusion.

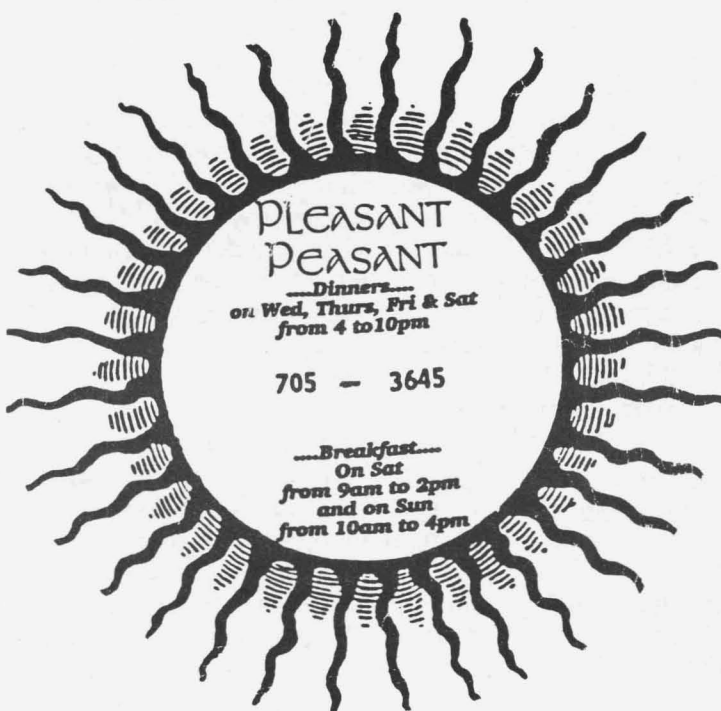
Without real political and social freedoms, however, illusions of freedom become freedom itself. Look at the US and you'll see what I mean. People are afraid to stand up for their rights at work or school and consider those who do as some kind of leftover from the sixties or just some kind of obnoxious whiner. Instead, in America, we define our freedom by what lifestyle we purchase.

Of course, if you happen to read the mainstream media, one would think Deng took the Chinese people out of a desperate poverty and into some kind of gilded age. That is a lie. What Deng did is open the door to the bankers in New York, Tokyo, Frankfurt, and the rest of the capitalist world.

The juxtaposition of US capitalist culture to the growing capitalist culture in China and Russia is the juxtaposition of two different episodes in capitalist development. One unfortunate similarity between these different episodes is the ever-widening gap between the rich and the poor. One major difference is the illegality (but continued existence) of sweatshop conditions in the US and their legality

in China and other newly corporate capitalist nations. What do nations have to do with this anymore? Nothing. Nothing except as customers for arms dealers who are not only some of the biggest multinationals, but are more than willing to sell to whatever country will buy. Which sets up scenarios like Russia's opposition to NATO expansion (seeing it as an attempt by the US to expand its hegemony-which it is) and China's show of force near Taiwan last summer, which was, after all, a warning to Japanese and American imperialists to not get any funny ideas. What the Chinese and Russian governments are saying, in so many words, is: we'll do business with you, but stay out of our backyard. Of course, how long they can bargain with the capitalist devil without giving up a pound of their flesh is unknown.

Ron Jacobs currently lives in Burlington, VT. and writes occasionally for *Works in Progress*. His history of the Weather Underground Organization, *The Way the Wind Blew*, will be published in June 1997 by Verso Books. ♦



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Community Rallies Around Treasured Bookstore

Tony Perkins

Monday, March 24th marked the first meeting of an ad hoc committee formed to address the troublesome presence of corporate bookselling in Olympia and the general decline of small business in our area. The meeting was attended by members of the Sustainable Community Roundtable, the staff of Four Seasons Books at Carnegie's, and other concerned citizens. This followed the surprise announcement last week that after twelve years of faithfully serving the Olympia community, Four Seasons Books is in serious financial trouble and could possibly close in the coming months.

After occupying various spaces first in Tumwater and then Olympia, Four Seasons Books moved four years ago into the historic Andrew Carnegie public library building located on Franklin street and Seventh avenue, downtown. Owned and operated by Dean and Carla Jones, the store has grown over the years to be the largest independent bookstore in operation between Portland and Seattle. Today it is truly a fixture of the downtown scene, and a gathering point for many facets of the Olympia community. In addition to being an excellent new and used book store (as well as the site of a popular cafe which shares the bookstore's space) Four Seasons Books at Carnegie's hosts performances and events of every kind, including poetry readings, musical events, community meetings and discussions, forums for political activism, dramatic performances, instructional workshops and lectures. The majority of these events are presented free of charge, and any money exchanged is usually in the form of a suggested donation which does not benefit the bookstore. In an open and natural way, Four Seasons Books has found its niche as a cultural meeting place in Olympia. To anyone familiar with Dean and Carla Jones, it should be of no doubt that they operate the store out of a genuine love of books and an intense interest in the vibrant Olympia community—they work to run a successful business, but clearly have more in mind than the figures appearing on the bottom line. Ask any of Four Seasons Books' loyal customers, and they will tell you that the store truly has its heart in the spirit of the community. This is how any locally-owned business proves its value.

At this point, it would be helpful to detail some of the history of the bookselling business, specifically the effect that corporate bookselling has had on small businesses. The maintenance of a small business which operates on such principles of connection and integrity, as does every independent bookstore in Olympia, was made more difficult by the entrance of chain book stores into this area. Succinctly put, chain stores steal business away from independents. In the case of Four Seasons Books vs. Barnes and Noble's, it should be clear that the corporate store has no real advantage in the area of customer

service. Independent, locally-owned book stores generally pride themselves on the fact that their staffs are made up of actual book professionals: people who care about books and are encouraged to care. However, a small bookstore with only limited funds available for marketing cannot compete with the sort of operating capital that is a drop in the bucket to Barnes and Noble's. This is about money, not books. The way that most corporate retail chains operate is to help the public forget that as consumers, they have options; that there are locally-owned businesses already in place in their community, and that there is a real difference between the way a chain and an independent store do business.

Independent stores which sell new books often rely on the flexibility of their customers; if a book is not on the

sensing what readers in their town were looking for, and stocking their shelves accordingly. This resulted in a rich diversity in publishing, and in what Americans were allowed to read.

In contrast, chain bookstores such as Barnes and Noble's employ only a handful of people to buy books for all their stores. Where before there were thousands of book buyers stocking the shelves of bookstores across the nation, now there is only the scant handful of buyers employed by chain stores, and whatever independent stores are left. Imagine that \$1,000,000 is spent by all the bookstores in this country on science fiction novels every year. Now imagine that one person controls 900,000 of those dollars that have been designated for science fiction. This one book buyer will not choose thousands of titles to sell; just like any small

Corporate retail marketing works to alienate the buying public to the degree that they can no longer see any point in doing anything that is less than absolutely convenient. . . . Whether one is purchasing books or hamburgers matters little.

shelf, an intelligent reader might consider it worthwhile to wait a few days while the book is ordered. Feeling a genuine connection to what a book says, to the store which provides the book, to the publisher, to a community of readers, writers, thinkers and to the entire process by which books are produced and distributed, feeling this connection sometimes leads to the relaxed notion that what one is purchasing and enjoying is not so much a commodity but a piece of life. Independent booksellers encourage this attitude in the reading public in innumerable ways, while the entire experience of shopping at a chain bookstore kills this feeling of connection and reinforces the idea that books are a commodity. Corporate retail marketing works to alienate the buying public to the degree that they can no longer see any point in doing anything that is less than absolutely convenient. The speed and convenience of the transaction become of primary importance; that one is purchasing a book, a collection of images and ideas, is not so important as the fact that one is purchasing something. Whether one is purchasing books or hamburgers matters little.

If the average customer of a chain bookstore feels that they are only exercising their freedom of choice, only supporting the business that best meets their needs, they do not see the whole picture. By supporting chain bookstores rather than independents, the consumer actually limits their own range of choices.

Before chain bookstores arrived on the literary scene in this country, the market was controlled by thousands of independent booksellers. The book buyers for these locally-owned stores made their living by

bookseller would, he or she will choose a few dozen. The difference is that these thirty or forty titles will be the only science fiction titles on the shelves of a thousand identical chain stores in diverse areas of the country, and likely the authors of these thirty or so titles will be the only science fiction writers to be published that year. These days, there must necessarily be minimal risk in deciding what to publish. With chain stores holding the major accounts with publishing firms, it should be clear that the dominance of chain bookstores is reducing literature to a matter of the least common denominator: best-sellerism. This reality should disturb not only the avid reader, but anyone with an investment in freedom of information, freedom of thought.

If this were not enough to keep a consumer out of a corporate retail store, add the effect that corporate retail can have on the local economy. As each small business is forced out of the market, not only are jobs lost but property value is lowered and taxes are raised. And it is large corporations, not locally-owned businesses, that receive subsidies from the government in the form of tax rollbacks. So in the end, we pay for the toll that corporate retail takes on our community, not only in the effect it has on our culture and other visible aspects of our lives; in addition, we pay out of our pockets.

Often the independent bookseller will meet a dull-eyed consumer and be confronted with the question "give me one good reason why I should buy this book from you when I can get it at Barnes and Noble's for a dollar less?" It is difficult to know where to start, in answering this question. The idea that Barnes and Noble's sells their books

for less is a misconception that dies hard in the mind of the average consumer; while Barnes and Noble's does discount their hardcover titles 10%, this does not change the fact that most books bought in any store are not hardcover but paperback. Taking all the particulars into account, the prices offered by an independent such as Four Seasons Books will at the very least match those of Barnes and Noble's. And even if one could sometimes get a particular title for a dollar or so less at Barnes and Noble's, what would the real cost of that savings be—all told? If the dollar saved by this consumer is worth everything that is lost in the connection to the life and growth of one's community, obviously a serious change in values has taken place.

Pacific Pipeline

The dominance of corporate booksellers on our economy was felt most immediately in the drop in business experienced by small stores such as Four Seasons Books, and most subtly in the gradual decline in the diversity and quality of literature being published. The experience of the average locally-owned bookstore was mirrored dramatically in the demise of Pacific Pipeline, a major wholesale distributor of books based in Kent and operating throughout the Northwest. Recently, Pacific Pipeline made the decision to begin acting as a distributor for Barnes and Noble's bookstores in this area. At the same time, they performed a major overhaul of their computer systems. It appears that Pipeline was plagued by problems of every kind during this transitional phase; at press time, president and owner Vito Perillo was unavailable to comment on the exact source of the firm's woes. The breaking point came when many bookselling businesses, including Barnes and Noble's, withdrew their accounts with the distributor. Without this expected support, and unable to pay their debts, Pacific Pipeline was forced into bankruptcy.

The fate of Pacific Pipeline has had a ripple effect on bookselling at many different levels. As is normal for many small-to-medium-sized booksellers who deal predominantly in new books, Four Seasons Books carried a negative balance from month to month with Pipeline, their main distributor. When Pipeline was forced into bankruptcy, their creditors demanded payment up front from every small business that owed Pipeline any amount of money. Four Seasons Books was presented with a bill that far exceeded the store's resources. It can only be guessed how many other independent booksellers are also being billed by Pipeline's creditors, beyond their capacity to pay.

Upon receipt of this bill, Dean and Carla Jones were faced with the difficult reality that they must offer their business for sale. In order for Four Seasons Books at Carnegie's to remain open and to serve the community, a capital investment would be required to first pay off the debt that was due immediately, and then to market the business so that the book buying public, much of which had before only known about corporate chain stores, would realize the alternatives. Of course, if there were some way to make the voice of a small store heard above the din of a

(Continued next page)

multi-billion dollar corporate bookstore, the rest would take care of itself. As a bookstore and a community meeting place, Four Seasons Books can offer much more to the Olympia community than many community members would expect.

At the meeting on the 24th, a great number of proposals were made by those present on how Four Seasons Books might be assisted by the community in this time of need. Short-term goals centered around ways that the community could help to pay the debt owed by the store; different ways to aggressively sell the business (outright, as originally planned by Dean and Carla Jones) were discussed, as well as alternative plans to sell future shares in the store to loyal customers. A long-term goal, discussed at the meeting, was to increase the presence of Four Seasons Books as a community meeting place in our community, possibly using the space for a variety of independent media projects not limited to bookselling. These might include a community-owned radio station or an Internet access center. The possibility of turning the business into a worker-owned cooperative was also discussed. All these paths would have the effect of enhancing the bookstore's already considerable connection to the Olympia community, and making it naturally more visible.

While all the concern and commitment voiced at the meeting was obviously informed by a genuine love of the bookstore as an institution in this community, more than one person in attendance pointed out that it is not only for Four Seasons Books that this battle against the encroachment of corporate business ought to be waged. The closing of the Smithfield cafe, and the tight times that many area businesses are experiencing make plain that small business in Olympia is in need of community involvement. The work that has started to preserve Four Seasons Books should only serve as a model for the way we, as a community, can rally behind the institutions we value. Obviously, not every independent retail store is intrinsically worth something to the community. But if there is a retail establishment in Olympia that holds value, for more than simply being a good store, then that is a very special institution which we should fight to preserve. Particularly when the alternative is a corporate chain. It is important to realize where our money goes, whether into our community or into the hands of a multi-national corporation with little interest in the people or economy of Olympia.

The ad hoc coalition to save Four Seasons Books is currently operating without a name and is loosely based. However, it will be meeting often in the near future. Anyone with interest in either buying the business or helping financially in some way, or becoming involved on some level in the struggle to preserve a valuable community resource and institution, should contact the coalition. Any businesses or organizations which purchase a large number of books and would like to begin doing business through Four Seasons Books should also get in touch. At the present time all calls can be directed to the Four Seasons phone number, (360) 786-0952. Any messages left at this number will be picked up by members of the coalition. ♦

Spanish Civil War Veteran Comes to Olympia

Lee O'Connor

Life long activist, Abe Osheroff, a veteran of the Spanish Civil War, union organizer, civil rights activist, and award-winning filmmaker is coming to Olympia April 8. He will be speaking noon at The Evergreen State College Library Lobby, and 7:00 PM at the Liberation Cafe about his fight against fascism and his lifelong work for social justice.

Osheroff grew up in New York. He was the son of Russian immigrants and his first language was Yiddish.

Starting at a young age Osheroff began working towards achieving positive social change. In the 1930s, Osheroff was a union organizer for the CIO. In 1936, when he was only 21 he broke United States law by defying the Neutrality Act and enlisted to fight in the Spanish Civil War. In the years from 1936 to 1939, Osheroff and over 3000 other Americans defended the Spanish Republic as the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. They fought fiercely against fascist Franco who was



Abe in Nicaragua in 1985

Park. In 1985, as part of a new "Brigada Lincoln," Osheroff built 30 campesino homes supplied with water in Nicaragua.

For their efforts against fascism,

As activists and humanists. . . we will benefit from learning about the life of this remarkable man and what has motivated him to take part in some of the biggest social movements of the last seven decades.

backed by the forces of Hitler and Mussolini. Osheroff was wounded in action and half of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade was killed.

When the US finally joined the war, Osheroff, along with all able-bodied brigade members enlisted to continue the fighting against fascism they had already begun in Spain.

After his service in WWII ended, Osheroff worked as an activist, carpenter, filmmaker, and teacher. He was involved in the Civil Rights Movement during the 1960s and had his car blown up in Mississippi. During the 1970s Osheroff led the fight against real estate interests in Los Angeles and successfully campaigned for the Venice Children's

the Abraham Lincoln Brigade faced persecution and fascism at home during the McCarthy era. The Abraham Lincoln Brigade continued their fight despite being blacklisted by Washington. They sent aid to families of Franco's prisoners, joined civil rights battles, opposed the Vietnam War, and US intervention in Central America.

To record his experiences in Spain and those of other Abraham Lincoln Brigade Veterans, Osheroff produced, narrated, and filmed the movie *Dreams and Nightmares*. The movie received 1st prize of the International Film Critics for the year 1975 and has

played in 15 countries around the world. *Dreams and Nightmares* has also been shown at over 200 universities and the one hour long movie will be screened when he visits TESC.

While being active in the most important social movements of his lifetime, Osheroff has worked as a history teacher and a skilled carpenter. He describes himself as "a radical, humanist, working class intellectual." In the 1940s and 50s, Osheroff taught at Jefferson School in New York, in the 70s and 80s at UCLA, and in 1993 and 1994 at the University of Washington. His plans are to be teaching again soon.

Osheroff lives in Seattle and will be coming down to Olympia on April 8. As activists and humanists a sense of duty compels us to hear and honor him. We will benefit from learning about the life of this remarkable man and what has motivated him to take part in some of the biggest social movements of the last seven decades.

Admission is free at the talks while donations are gladly accepted. All proceeds will go towards the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (VALB). The fund helps the survivors meet their day to day health and living needs. For more information call 352-6342. ♦

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LETTERS & NEWS BRIEFS

and their families, these children never learn English well, and are never able to break out of the bilingual programs. Consequently, we have Spanish translations of standard text books in daily use in our classrooms, and we have students graduating from high school still unable to speak English.

Reared in Texas, I can remember the days when students who dared to speak Spanish at school were paddled, ostracized and humiliated. I am glad those days are past. But we have gone from the over-kill of bigotry to killing the non-English speaker with kindness.

How can a child who grows up speaking the native language of the country of his ancestors as his primary language hope to compete in a society where English is the primary language? The answer is, he can't compete. He becomes instead another member of the language ghetto — the physical area of the community in which he lives, defined by the language he speaks. Thus we have the barrio, China Town, Little Viet Nam, ad infinitum, within the structure of our cities. Inside the confines of this area, his native language — or a patois of that language and English — is the language of the households, the shop-keepers and businesses. Here he can function, and he may grow up to become one of the business people of that community.

However, unemployment is rampant within these communities, and those who want to work are more often than not forced to go outside their language community to find jobs. And the jobs they are confined to, because of their poor grasp of English, are the menial, minimum-wage employment of the fruit picker, the dish washer, and the doorman. Yes, this work is honorable. But would Mr. Grant want to live his life working at a wage which guarantees he will never be able to properly support a family, to get ahead, to live in a nice house, or to put more than just enough food on the table?

Is it possible to break out of this language ghetto? Of course, and many do. But they do so because they apply themselves, far beyond any ESL, LEP, or bilingual class, to learning English well. In so doing, they are able to progress through high school and/or college successfully. Is it possible to function proficiently in more than one language? Absolutely. Most Europeans speak, read and write a minimum of three languages: their native language, English, and at least one other. It is a goal toward which we Americans should be striving. Having said this however, the fact remains that in the United States English is the primary language, just as, world-wide, English has become the language of commerce and industry. If you want to get ahead you'd better speak, read, and write it well, and by their very nature, ESL, LEP, and bilingual classes preclude this.

Linda Conaway-Barry

Alternative Press Going Virtual

Dear friends,

Thanks for all the work you did compiling the info re: Alternative Papers. I especially related to the facts

about the Environmental Press having more resources than the more broader types. Sadly it is all too true.

We will be using the article and wanted you to know that it can be found on the internet. We are no longer in paper form after ten years. Enclosed is a flyer with our net address.

It was a hard decision as we are only too painfully aware that poor people don't have access. But these messages need to get a further fielding and we felt we could reach more people (to say the least) in this venue. We are also committed to printing out the places where people without computers can have access. I'm curious as to other alternatives who have taken this step.



"I WAS LUCKY SON. I ONLY HAD TO WALK 10 MILES TO SCHOOL IN THE SNOW."

Thanks again for the article.
Mary Moore

Sonoma County Free Press
PO Box 296
Occidental, CA 95465
(707) 874-2248
<http://www.sonomacountyfreepress.org>

Capitalism Must Go

Dear Sir,

David Zink is right. Capitalism must go. If capitalism allows itself to be destroyed. Anything less than capitalism being pulled out by the roots like a weed is not Socialism but reformism. A patch to hold capitalism together. Money must be abolished and replaced by time vouchers which give workers the full value of their labor. Gold would only be used for artistic work and decoration. There will be an end to all political parties as workers would vote at the workplace for their representatives, who would be recalled immediately if they don't do the bidding of workers. Right now every worker in the land has control of the workplace. All the workers have to do is be aware of this awesome power and vote the capitalists out at the ballot box. If the ruling class and capitalists still refuse to give into the voter's demand then a complete shut-down by the workers nationwide. The capitalist class would be forced to give in. How long, for instance, would transportation run if no gas, oil, parts, tires, were made or delivered.

The Paris Commune of March 18, 1871 is a good example of how ruthless the capitalists are when they are threatened. On March 18th the work-

ers and National Guard drove the army out of Paris, France with the capitalists, petty capitalists and parasites at the army's heels. One lesson the Commune showed was that people can operate the businesses, factories and services without the capitalists although this was not strictly a socialist government. Business was carried on in this manner for five weeks.

The Paris Commune failed because of disagreement among the leaders, failure to seize the gold from the Bank of France and the neglect to fortify the high places. When the army returned, the communards fought valiantly from barricade to barricade until the last communard was slain.

Then the army under Theirs, who will be remembered as the mass murderer, slaughtered thousands of men, women and children who participate in establishing the commune of Paris.

The Socialist Labor Party is the only political party that is for and by the workers and follows the teachings of Karl Marx. (Karl Marx's works were not allowed in the former USSR). The Socialist Labor Party shows a peaceful transition from Capitalism to a workers government. Karl Marx died in 1883 but the last nail has yet to be driven into his coffin.

Milton Poulos

Open Letter to Postmaster General

Dear Editor:

I am employed by the U.S. Postal Service in Olympia, in processing and distribution. I'm often asked by acquaintances about working conditions at the post office. It's a common question posed to us due to the public's perception that violent acts occur there. In my experience there have been no riots, no pitched battles, no shootings in my work place.

However there is a basic disrespect displayed toward workers. Often it's in the form of nagging at a person about doing a job he/she is fully competent to perform. Sometimes it comes in the form of patronizing safety talks. Petty and mean-spirited discipline is common. These and other countless, thoughtless behaviors by management leave people on the work room floor coping with personal, quiet rages as each performs his/her job of getting the mail

out.

The Postal Service seems to recognize that the potential for violence exists. Recently at work we were shown a video featuring the two highest ranking managers of mail processing and distribution in the Seattle Region. Their message was this: no forms of violence would be tolerated. They included the violence of disrespect displayed toward another, as well as overt physical violence. It is ironic that only a few days before the video lecture a supervisor physically assaulted a worker, one of our union stewards. No bruises or marks were inflicted, just the damage of a well-emphasized insult.

If that behavior had been displayed by one of the workers, that person would have been led from the building in handcuffs. Severe discipline would have been meted out, ranging from suspension without pay to termination of employment. Indeed, a worker has been fired for yelling at a supervisor. Another suspended for touching a fellow employee during a stressful encounter. However, as of two weeks after the above-mentioned episode, there has been no demonstration of accountability for that act of violence. The double standard is obvious. It is disturbing. It is not surprising.

Now, the person who was insulted is experiencing reprisals for trying to find justice. Management is finding ways to issue discipline against him. This also is disturbing but not surprising. Another union steward was terminated who was very effective in dealing with management's failures and abuses. We are still waiting for the outcome of appeals in that case.

You may ask why complain in a public forum. It is my experience that the Postal Service does not take the formal grievance procedures seriously. Many grievances have been settled in the union's favor. Yet management shows no interest in abiding by settlements or labor contract agreements if it is inconvenient. Grievances are merely the price of doing business. Perhaps a more public dialogue would encourage negotiations in good faith.

So far, I've drawn a grim picture of life in the Postal Service. But I care a great deal about my job. It is productive work with good pay and benefits. We perform a useful service for our community. Also, I must say that in my job I am surrounded by men and women who are intelligent, and who bring integrity to the work place. I am proud to be counted among them. I am proud of the work we do. To expect to be treated as productive adults is something we must demand.

Don A. Williams

Mapping Our Journey II

Building Alliances Across Communities

Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgendered Political Planning Conference is going to be held in Olympia, May 16-18 at the Holiday Inn Select.

It is time to continue the map to our future and the journey we will take to equality. Mapping Our Journey II is intended to explore ways our community can have local impact on the

(Continued next page)

towns, cities, and counties where we live and continue our efforts within statewide politics.

There are over 20 workshops that will be conducted such as: History/Herstory, Hometown Civil Rights, Making Our Schools Safe, Legislative Lobby Skills, Fundraising, Labor Alliances, Business Alliances, Creating Queer Youth Empowerment, Let's Get Married, & more.

Sponsors are being sought. For more information call 456-6754.

TCTV Spring Fling & Open House

Sunday, April 27, 2-5pm

The public is invited to come see how local access television works. You can be part of a live studio audience, listen to great music, or record your own message.

Visitors to the studio can take a turn in front of our cameras. If you've got something to say about a local issue, Speak Your Piece: The Public Opinion Corner is your chance to express yourself. You can also create a Video Greeting Card to congratulate the graduate in your family, send greetings to a friend, or tell Mom how much you appreciate her for Mother's Day.

Entertainment begins at 3pm with a Live Jazz Jam by celebrated jazz performers from around the region. A Celtic Extravaganza takes the stage at 4:30pm with The Columbia Street Session Band & Cabaret.

For more info call 956-3100.

Community Forum

Community Safety/Social Harmony

Wednesday, April 9th

7-9pm at Liberation Cafe

What is the connection between our perception of safety and the facts? Are we vulnerable to attack while walking our streets? What would it take to make us feel safe and secure in our homes, neighborhoods, and on our streets?

If we do not feel safe, what then is our personal responsibility, our community responsibility, our political responsibility? Would you be willing to interact in some way with at-risk youth if that is what was needed? What are we willing to do in order to have what we say we want?

It is up to each of us to participate in our own way to create solutions we can be proud of. Let's discover together a sense of community.

Program sponsored by the Sustainable Community Roundtable with funding from the Community Sustaining Fund.

Community Land Trusts

Thursday, April 17

7pm at Olympia Library

Russ Fox, TESC Faculty

Find out about an exciting way to remove land from the speculative real estate market and preserve it for uses that serve the community instead. As a community based non-profit corporation, the land trust acquires land that can provide for such community needs as affordable housing, com-

Silence Is Where Hate Grows

Gabi Clayton

This is a summary of PFLAG member Gabi Clayton's February testimony before a committee hearing of the Washington State House of Representatives on a bill to prohibit any mention of homosexuality in a favorable light in public schools. The bill died in committee.

My name is Gabi Clayton. I live here in Olympia, and I am a certified mental health counselor. I am also involved with the Safe Schools Coalition, and I'm a member of PFLAG - Parents, Families and Friends of Lesbians and Gays. Today I am mostly here to speak as a parent. I am the mother of two sons.

In 1992 my younger son Bill came out to us, his family, as bisexual. He was 14 years old. We all assured him that we loved him and supported him. In April 6, 1995, when he was 17, Bill and his best friend Sam (who is straight) were viciously assaulted by teenaged boys on the grounds of Olympia High School during spring break. It was a hate crime -- the attackers yelled "Hey, are you gay? Do you want to fight?" My son and his friend did not want to fight and they tried to walk away. Those boys told them "We don't tolerate fags here," and then surrounded them and beat them both until they lost consciousness.

Just over a month later, on May 8, 1995, Bill committed suicide. With his death we found a page in one of Bill's notebooks where he had drawn the gay symbol, a pink triangle. Across it he had written: "This is not my choice."

This is not forced upon me. This just is."

We have many gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered kids in our schools, and they are afraid. Every day they face verbal and physical harassment, as has been pointed out each year in the Safe Schools Anti-Violence Documentation Project's annual reports.

The results of living with that fear are also documented there. Kids who are not "straight" miss more school and sometimes drop out because of fear. They are more likely to engage in high risk drug use and are three times more likely to have attempted suicide.

Bill came from a family that loved and supported him, but our love and support were not

If this bill passes, the next time a kid is beaten or harassed, to whom could they turn in their school? They will be left with no safety, no protection, no support.

enough. It was nearing time for him to leave home and make his own way in the world. After that assault the only place he felt safe was at home. He saw a world filled with hate. He lost hope, and he chose to end his life.

Silence is where the hate grows that killed my son. If you mandate silence in the schools you are tolerating those who take

munity gardens, cottage industries, co-housing, or cultural facilities. Now is a good time for us to consider the possibilities for the South Sound.

Program sponsored by the Sustainable Community Roundtable.

Statement to the Media by Sandy Nelson

Today my ACLU attorneys and I were informed that the Washington State Supreme Court decided against me in my six-year case against The News Tribune in Tacoma.

I'm disappointed with the court majority's decision that newspapers can hide behind the U.S. First Amendment to practice political discrimination against reporters. My free speech rights and my right to be politically active were not even considered. The court has set a chilling precedent for the TNT and other papers to interfere with the political activities of journalists. The decision is an insult and injury to every member of the working press.

In minority opinions, Justices Dolliver and Johnson found that the First Amendment does not protect the newspaper from liability under state law. They decided that I would have prevailed but for missing a procedural step in bringing the case to court, which in fact was not missed. Justices Durham and Talmadge, the remaining two of the court's nine justices,

didn't address the issues of the case at all, but decided that the court did not have jurisdiction to make a decision.

My supporters and I are pleased the court affirmed the Fair Campaign Practices Act that prohibits bosses from discriminating against workers for their activities on behalf of a ballot initiative, political candidate or political party. Even though their ruling wrongly exempts the newspaper industry, it is a tremendous victory for Washington workers and workers' organizations, which donated so generously to my free speech fight. Among them were the Washington State Labor Council, the Newspaper Guild, AFSCME and thousands of volunteers and petition signers.

My lawyers, defense committee and I will study the decision and assess our capabilities before deciding on the next step. It's been a good fight, and a long one, so we'll need to consider the time and expense of a possible appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. An immediate avenue might be a request that the court reconsider its decision.

At this point, I'd like to thank everyone who is supporting this important case for the rights of workers and lesbians and gays. People with access to the World Wide Web can read the decision for themselves at <http://www.wa.gov/courts/opinpage/>

Teen Suicide: Can We Reduce This Silent Gay-Youth Killer?

Sunday, April 13th

2pm at First United Methodist Church, 1224 Legion Way, SE

Each week in Washington State, 20 youths try suicide, many of them gay. Of these, 2 succeed.

Speaker is Wendy Lewis, of Community Youth Services, who is working on a national grant to teach potential suicide identification and intervention.

violent action.

At the same time you will take away the best defense -- that of being able to say that many gay, lesbian, bi-

sexual and transgendered persons lead positive, healthy and productive lives that benefit not only themselves, but our society as a whole.

If this bill passes, the next time a kid is beaten or harassed, to whom could they turn in their school? They will be left with no safety, no protection, no support. We will have more young people defenseless against the onslaught of prejudice.

home.htm and let the court know what they think.

Support PCUN/ Farmworkers' Rights

Representative from PCUN, the Oregon farmworkers union, spoke to the Thurston/Lewis Labor Council and others on Wednesday, March 19th at the Olympia Labor Temple about the farmworkers' struggle with NORPAC. NORPAC is a grower's cooperative in Oregon that sells Flav-R-Pac foods. Although NORPAC has a contract with the Teamsters, it refuses to negotiate with the farmworkers.

Beginning with the slaves brought from Africa, this country has depended on a cheap plentiful supply of farmworkers and continues to refuse them the legal rights won by other workers. This is not a pleasant fact: to know that the food on our tables at the prices we pay is planted, pruned, and picked by workers like ourselves, except farmworkers have no ability to negotiate with their employers about wages, conditions or benefits.

That's why PCUN asks us to not buy Flav-R-Pac vegetables and to let grocers know why. The same is true of GardenBurgers. Yes, GardenBurgers -- they are a major customer of NORPAC.

Olympia has a history of supporting farmworker unions. To get involved call 705-2726. ♦

The Art of Healing Exhibit Opens

Robin Adalina Landsong

Three floors of the Washington Center are now filled with visual works by artists with the courage to tell their story of human healing. As one of the co-curators I feel it is a success. The accomplishment will only continue to grow over the next two months as more people go to see the Art of Healing. "It is really powerful to see an image of a person's healing paired with their story. I feel we have provided a forum for this kind of soulful communication," said Raven Kaliana, co-curator.

We have received some great feedback. "I'll think of your show, the courage jumping off of those canvas pieces and the resilience of the human spirit that they symbolize." People told me at the reception they were speechless standing in front of so much collective courage. "The honesty blows me away." "I am inspired." One hundred and eleven people came to the reception. Raven and I spent the entire time receiving great feedback and praise. Sometimes even more than the words, the looks on people's faces let me know how needed this kind of show is in this culture. Raven stated, "Numerous people came up to me at the artist's reception, and thanked Robin and I for putting together this gift to our community."

I want to write to let people know about the show, the related events, and to reflect on the process of putting it together. To see the show at the Washington Center refer to the related calendar. I imagine the most convenient time for people is going to be Art Walk, April 18th. So after the Procession of the Species, come see more great art.

The night after Art Walk, April 19th, Playback Theater will be dedicating their theme of the evening to peoples' responses to the Art of Healing. Just in case you miss seeing the art show during Art Walk, or you want to see it again, we have arranged to have the Washington Center open for two hours before Playback. Special Viewing is from 5pm-7pm, and Playback Theater is from 7pm to 8:30pm. In the event you still missed it, or want to see even more art work, we will have a photo album of works including and in addition to those on the walls at the WA Center. We will also show slides. If you haven't been to Playback - it is great! It isn't a "play" with a set script. People from the audience tell an event or story from their lives, and the players spontaneously and skillfully play it back. If you don't want to share a story, you won't be put on the spot, but if you do the conductor will help you. It is just incredible to watch the stories unfold.

The second related event is the Community Discussion on May 1st, 6:30pm-9pm, at the Olympia Timberland Library. I am very excited about this. The idea is to create a space where people can continue the conversation that was started by the artists. I have been to amazing shows where I wanted to talk with the artists or other viewers, and the comment book just

wasn't enough. It will not be a panel of "experts" talking at you. It will not be an academic art critique session. There will be slides and a photo book of the Art of Healing. It will be the questions and views of the people who come that evening. Lisa Smith will be the facilitator. Her profession it is to involve the public in community dialogue. The Community Discussion will be an opportunity to connect and network. We want to hear all kinds of perspectives. We want for people to bring ways of being and listening as a community beyond a Euro hierarchical model. We encourage people of color to attend.

Lisa Smith and I are also organizing a series of brown bag lunch discussions to be held at the WA Center. The idea is to bring in groups of people

names and organizations. I loved the process. We made some great connections, got enthusiastic support from groups like Seattle Women's Caucus for Arts. We were told to be prepared to be censored and to brace ourselves for controversy.

With a ton of work, and on a budget of \$150, the day came to receive the art. We received about 100 entries. One of the staff of the Washington Center told me it was an important and helpful experience just to be there when the art came in. I was honored to meet so many artists with the courage and honesty they brought in their work. Susan Aurand and Loise Williams did the job of selecting about half the works to fit in the available space.

Thirty-six women and, three men

The idea is to bring in groups of people to see the art, and spark a conversation about healing in their field of work. We hope to support healing the healers.

to see the art, and spark a conversation about healing in their field of work. We hope to support healing the healers. The three brown bag discussions will take place on different Wednesdays in the 12-2pm slot that the WA Center is open to the public. April 16th will be for representatives of the many faith communities in Thurston County who seek to share their common experience of healing. April 23rd is for people who work in the health fields: mental and physical health, nurses, social service people, doctors, hospice workers, therapists, and people who have received their care. May 7th is for people who work with youth at risk, incarcerated youth, juvenile justice issues. This includes people who are school psychologists, parole officers, direct service intervention workers, and youth themselves. All are welcome. People can still come view the show even if they do not want to be a part of the brown bag discussion. For more details call Lisa Smith at 352-8443.

How we did this

A year ago Raven and I presented the theme proposal to Arts Olympia. Arts Olympia is a local group started about fifteen years ago to be a networking and social group for artists. Volunteers of the group take on the responsibility for curating majority of show for the Washington Center. After Raven, I, and Kathy Gore Fuss addressed some of their concerns The Art of Healing show was given approval and dates. I will say there were differences of opinion and world views. There were questions about aesthetic art vs. art with a focus of telling or communicating. Not all of the class issues that arose were dealt with. I think the views and methods Raven and I brought were new to some of the group. It was extremely hard and trying work.

We began getting the word out to artists and networking gathering

entered work. This is important and interesting considering the history of the "ART" World and how many women have never received proper invitation to have their work honored. Here I want to note (if you had not noticed) the two curators are women, the two jurors are women, and about 15 of the 17 active volunteers from Arts Olympia are women. Let me reiterate that we just had a budget of \$150, and no one but the jurors were paid for their work. In fact, the artists have to pay to even enter their work as crazy as that is. It is the artists and Art Olympia members who paid for this show. If we did this on a shoe string, think what we will do when we get our share of bucks that the "big boys of the art world" have all tied up. I think the Guerrilla Girls* would be proud of this shows inclusion of women.

There is still the need for change in having full representation of the human story. About 98% of the entries were from white people. I had a dream asking why more people of color did not enter in the show. In the dream an African American woman reminded me: if you want people of color in the end, you have to have them in the beginning. All of the organizers are white.

I am aware that many cultures do not put their art in a frame behind glass, and hang it on the wall. In Mexico the art is on the buildings and walls as murals for all to see. In many Native cultures there is no separate word for art. It is more integrated into daily living, not artificially separated and only for the elite. This is also a class issue, framing is really expensive, or time consuming and still expensive. Maybe the Washington Center is not the place where someone wants to reveal their story of being wounded by racism. I still do hope to see an exhibit at the WA Center with a theme of addressing

racism.

Despite the variety of healing we made effort to welcome we received no works addressing AIDS. I sent out publicity and personalized invitations to four AIDS organizations, and about 6 to organizations of people of color, and organizations that fight racism. I sent no letters out to breast cancer organizations. We have four women artists who are Survivors of breast cancer. The works as a whole address the healing of child sexual assault, rape, cancer, cult ritual abuse, loss, trauma, illness, and hate crimes. They address the redefinition and celebration of myth, identity, spirituality, dreams, and lesbianism. The show is about healing from silence to voice, and being stolen from to regaining personal power. The exhibit is about being counted and holding those who tried not to include our story accountable. The show by its very existence changes isolation to connection. Over and over I heard, "I would not have ever guessed that about her if I had not seen her art". It is about taking the risk to reveal ourselves and the benefits that come from that.

My Personal Reflections

The cumulative effect is that the artist are each telling part of the whole story. It is the whole story we are after. I did not feel I needed to say everything in my artist statement because when Joanne Lee and Raven Kaliana tell their story they are also telling mine. I did not feel my art work had to get across to the viewer every detail of being in utter grief because Susan Black's work across from mine has an image that explains it all. The strength and spirituality in Cathy Pfiel's images is the same stuff I use to keep me going. It is not about competition, which has historically been part of the male "ART" world. It is about support in telling the collective story of human healing.

I want to thank all the artists who entered work, and even those who do their art of healing privately. I want to remind ourselves that our work is important, valued and needed. This society may not yet be skilled at valuing such honesty, and this is how people will learn. I will conclude with a statement from Raven: "I am excited to see the ripple effects this will have, in terms of increasing local awareness of recovery issues and providing a beginning point for people to connect with one another. I really want to thank all the artists for sharing their works and stories from their lives. I also want to thank Arts Olympia for providing a good starting point for this show. A lot of communication went into making this show and I feel that we all learned from each other. Arts Olympia members put a lot of time and energy into making this show look great!"

* The Guerrilla Girls started in New York by women artists who were fed up with galleries being full of work by exclusively white men. They literally wear Guerrilla masks to protect their individual art careers, and do public demonstration/education calling attention to how many women or lack their of have been shown in each gallery. They research and publicize who makes money in the art world. They have a sense of humor, a dedication to making curators accountable, and they are making change. ♦

Mission Accomplished

Transform NATO or End It

The Defense Monitor

Throughout the Cold War, avoidance of war's devastation has been a paramount policy objective of western European nations and one of America's fundamental interests. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), led by the U.S., was the means adopted in 1949 to preserve peace in the face of the military might of the Soviets. By the 1955 inclusion of West Germany in NATO the U.S. also reassured the rest of Europe that Germany would be restrained "by a net of embraces and mutual obligations."

But of these objectives have been accomplished and NATO has fulfilled its mission. Logically NATO should be disestablished as an anachronism. But it survives and its members want it to continue indefinitely. There are both political and bureaucratic motives for this extended longevity.

- U.S. administrations and Congress want to preserve NATO because it gives America a vehicle for dominating (they say "influencing") European affairs.

- European governments want to continue relying on America's contribution to their security so as to reduce the cost of their own defense establishments.

- NATO has built an impressive bureaucracy, and bureaucracies do not willingly go away.

- NATO is a haven for senior military officers. Attached to it are a large number of generals and admirals who are supposed to plan and direct allied military operations and provide liaison with their national forces.

NATO's longevity is probably a fact of European life. As it stands, the Alliance is expensive but does not jeopardize the peace of the continent. However, recent events such as the search for a new role for NATO, and NATO expansion eastward, could well cause a revival of superpower confrontation, destabilize the region, disrupt economic development, and undermine the long-term outlook for peace in Europe. It is essential that the outcome of these events contributes to peace rather than becoming a source of divisiveness in Eurasia.

NATO Expansion

Today Europe is more secure and less tense. Nevertheless, despite Russia's markedly diminished military capability, countries in central Europe want to join NATO. Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic feel the need for membership in a security organization and want economic ties to the West. Their fears have little factual basis today. The geopolitical position of Poland, for example, is undisputed for the first time in centuries. Nor are the eight other candidates for NATO membership under any direct or indirect threat.

The U.S. is pushing for a decision in 1997 to include these first three aspirants by 1999. The justification given for such haste is to reward and encourage democracy. On another

level, it is likely that the Administration's effort is intended to gain the gratitude and political support of millions of descendants of yesteryear's middle European immigrants. Germany, the strongest NATO member after the U.S., is in no such hurry and Chancellor Kohl has warned against taking Russia's opposition too lightly.

Russian Objections

The Administration's plan would admit Russia's neighbors to NATO but leave Russia on the outside.

Polish Prime Minister Cimoszewicz has aptly summarized the Russian position on NATO expansion (although he believes it unwarranted):

"The Russian government openly and steadfastly opposes expansions of NATO eastward and this view, it should be noted, is shared by the leaders of major opposition parties."

"NATO was designed to fight the USSR. With the Cold War over, the Alliance has lost its mission. As an anachronism, logically it could be disestablished."

According to their line of reasoning, the enlargement of the Alliance would be no more than another Cold War arrangement. The admission of new members in Central Eastern Europe would only mean that the dividing line would be drawn closer to Russia. Surrounding states would be inimically disposed toward Russia, and disagreements on vital issues could result not only in a 'cold peace' but also in a revival of tensions and the arms race."

Both the German and French governments see NATO's "core function" as collective defense for the allies and the lesser powers such as the Netherlands agree. U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry warned: "NATO is not a social club. It is not a fraternity. It is a military alliance."

The Russians know that this "defensive" alliance is oriented against them—not just against potentially spreading internal eruptions like Bosnia. NATO was created to fight the USSR. Russians are convinced that NATO is intended to serve as a new enlarged anti-Russian alliance. Indeed, the announcement of plans to enlarge NATO has accomplished the virtually impossible: it has unified what were fragmented and conflict-ridden Russian political factions in opposition to the western move.

Sad Consequences

If NATO is expanded without Russia as the U.S. urges, tensions will increase and the likelihood of peace in Europe will be reduced. Ukraine's Minister of Foreign Affairs predicts that "any rise in new security dividing lines on the continent could pose the greatest danger to both European and international stability." In his views, "NATO enlargement is likely to trigger...thinking analogous to the mentality of the Cold War period" in

the peoples of the states of the former Soviet Union.

Under Article 5 of the NATO Treaty, "an armed attack against [any member] in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all." If the territorial guarantee implicit in NATO membership were extended to states in Central Europe, the states to the east of the new boundary (including Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Finland) would be left in limbo. In this event, President Yeltsin has declared: "We will immediately establish constructive ties with all ex-Soviet republic and form a bloc. And as a result Europe will have two blocs."

Russia can no longer compete with NATO's huge conventional forces, but their nuclear weapons are relatively inexpensive to maintain. Russia's former Defense Minister Pavel Grachev warned that if NATO ex-

Russia may cancel these cooperative efforts. The danger of diversion of nuclear capability to terrorists and rogue states would then continue for years.

There is a fledgling movement to eliminate all nuclear weapons from the European continent because they are of no military value to Russia, the U.K., or France, and because they are dangerous to all parties. This movement would be completely frustrated by NATO expansion.

Empty Reassurances

NATO's members are well aware of these dangers, and continuously utter reassurance to Russia. President Clinton's September 1996 call for NATO enlargement tried to put Russia at ease: "We are intensifying our efforts to build a strong partnership between NATO and Russia."

Secretary of State Christopher elaborated:

"I want to say this to the Russian people: We welcome you as our full partners in building a new Europe that is free of tyranny, division and war. We want to work with you to bring Russia into the family of market democracies. We want you to have a stake and a role in the institutions of European security and economic cooperation. That is why we seek a fundamentally new relationship between Russia and the new NATO. Such a relationship is possible. It is important to us all. And we are determined to make it happen."

U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry acknowledged that "Russia has been a key player in Europe's security for over 300 years. It will remain a key player in the coming decades." Mr. Perry's Under Secretary, Walter Slocombe, sees the necessity to "ensure that Russia will play a constructive role commensurate with its importance and weight in European affairs."

These reassuring words are merely an elaboration of the "Partnership for Peace" initiative. This arrangement is like an invitation to cocktails, but not to the dinner. Russia's soldiers can train with NATO's and even help to implement the Dayton accord in Bosnia. But it will be a long time—if ever—before Russia becomes a member.

The Truth About Any European Military Alliance

With the Cold War over, NATO's members no longer need to defend against external enemies. Nevertheless, each nation believes its sovereignty requires it to maintain armed force. Hence NATO still serves a useful if unpublicized purpose: putting these forces into a common alliance discourages the members from using them against each other. This constraint contributed to the last half century of peace in Europe. Germany has not threatened France. The United Kingdom has not needed to defend the Low countries.

(Continued next page)

Defense Monitor Question

How much does the Pentagon spend every day to prepare to fight a nuclear war?

(See next page for answer)

By now it has become axiomatic that any military alliance among the major European powers must also include Russia. In a recent statement, German Minister of Foreign Affairs Klaus Kinkel came close to proclaiming this fact:

"Only together with Russia can there be security in Europe, not without her and certainly not if we oppose this great and important country. It is conversely true that Russia will find security, stability, and well-being only together with Europe, not without Europe or by opposing Europe."

To understand the need to include Russia as a member of a Europe-wide military alliance requires a brief examination of the military and semimilitary organizations presently functioning on the Continent.

Western European Union

Aside from NATO, the only potential military alliance is the WEU. Ten of the 14 members of the European Union (the EU, see below) including France, Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom form the WEU. The organization is described in the 1991 Maastricht Treaty as the defense component of the EU in pursuit of the Common Foreign and Security Policy foreseen by the Treaty. But as a military alliance, the WEU is not a "going concern". It is contemplated that NATO will share its assets with WEU, and that the latter will not duplicate the former. NATO's Political Affairs Division finds it "hard to imagine that a country could be a full member of the WEU without becoming, or already being, a full member of NATO."

The Partnership For Peace

The PFP is a 43-member organization which is not an alliance although it has a military character. PRP was launched at the initiative of the U.S. as a nonhostile alternative to NATO. It is described as a "fundamental and enduring instrument for a strong cooperative relationship with the Alliance and among the participating parties". Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and most of the rest of the former Soviet states are participants, as are the members of the former Warsaw Pact and the other middle European countries that want admission to NATO. NATO is encouraging "interoperability," meaning training of the Partners' personnel and military units in NATO doctrine, procedures, and practices, and adapting or procuring equipment to interface with that of NATO. Donations of surplus military equipment by Alliance members to Partners are also contemplated. A series of joint exercises have been held, and will continue, between the Partners' militaries and those of NATO members. The summer 1996 meeting of NATO foreign ministers agreed that there may be "operations" where NATO assets and capabilities and those of the PFP countries are both utilized.

But just as the Partners in Central Europe feel that PFP is not sufficient to assure their security and ties to the

West, so Russia believes that PFP is a subterfuge to paper over the dividing line between East and West. NATO's Assistant Secretary General, Gebhardt von Moltke, makes it clear that "PRP is neither a substitute for membership [in NATO], not a guaranteed path to membership."

Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

The OSCE is the most inclusive political entity operating in Europe (aside from the UN), and involves more than 50 states—including the former USSR countries, the U.S., and Canada. OSCE functions in three areas:

- Creation of norms for international law, human and minority rights, democracy, and market economy.
- Arms control.
- Early warning, conflict prevention, and conflict resolution.

Its main focus is on conflict control in Europe. OSCE has no armed forces. It draws on NATO forces when its peacekeeping activities require them. Bosnia is the preeminent example: NATO has separated the hostile parties there while OSCE attempts to manage the economic reconstruction effort.

European Union

The EU is a different route to peace and stability in Europe, evolving of its own momentum and independent of the U.S. Its goal is the economic unification of the continent. Eleven

Economic ties between the EU and these countries in transition from communism are a means of promoting free markets and fostering political reform and stability. The well-being of the citizens of the associates will be improved as a result of economies of scale, business competition, higher investment, technological progress, and faster "human capital" accumulation.

Close to Admission?

From this brief review it is apparent that NATO is the only European organization with military strength, and that the EU is the most important institution for rationalizing economic affairs among the separate states.

President Clinton has been aware that some Russian military and political leaders would like to have their country become a full member of NATO. Hence in advance of the Moscow summit meeting in May 1995, Mr. Clinton sent a written assurance to President Yeltsin that the United States has no objection in principle to the "new Russia" becoming a full member of the Alliance.

When the public statements of NATO's leaders verge so closely on admission of Russia to their club, why don't they go the last step? Is it because admission of Russia would turn a former enemy into an ally? The half-century division of Europe between hostile blocs would end. NATO would have constructive missions:

- Creation of peace in areas of

suffers reverses at times. Russia's inclusion in NATO would assure it that it faces no threat from the West, and would enable it to accelerate its progress toward the standards. It should be remembered that after World War II the U.S. neutralized any German ambition for revived military dominance by wisely including Germany in the NATO Alliance. The prospect of admission to NATO is now serving as an incentive for Eastern European states to settle border disputes and improve conditions for minorities. Slovakia recently signed a treaty with Hungary renouncing territorial claims. In September Hungary signed a treaty with Romania smoothing over a long dispute concerning the status of 1.5 million ethnic Hungarians in Romania's Transylvania. Estonia is moving toward settling its border dispute with Russia.

Western Europe is aware that its interests would be served by Russia's realization of free market democracy, civilian control of the military, and friendly borders. Hence, NATO members should want to facilitate any institutional change—including Russian admission—that enhances this progress. Secretary of State Christopher proposed in September that "NATO's cooperation with Russia should be expressed in a formal Charter." Mr. Christopher spoke of crisis management and training of troops for joint operations. But this Charter should include other provisions that would speed Russia's eligibility for NATO membership, and reassure it while it is awaiting inclusion. These provisions should be formally agreed as a necessary precondition for the invitations to other candidates for membership.

- An unambiguous formal commitment to Russia's admission to NATO promptly upon her substantial achievement of the standards.

- Firm warnings to the states admitted to NATO in advance of Russia:

- That the military forces of the original Alliance members will not be stationed or used in battle anywhere in their territories; and
- That these new members will not have the right to veto Russia's subsequent admission.

- An extension of the traditional NATO rule requiring unanimity among its members for decisions affecting security, so as to include Russia in the necessary consensus.

- A formal assurance that in the event of a conflict with China along Russia's long border (a worry that troubles Russia continuously), America and Europe will continue their economic and political intercourse with Russia without lapse or curtailment. This assurance can be coupled with a reminder that Article 5 of the NATO Treaty does not apply to attacks in Asia; hence NATO's other members will not be obligated to use their military forces to help Russia if it should be engaged in hostilities with China.

- A promise of liberal Western loans and grants to aid Russia's progress toward a free market economy. The U.S. Congressional Budget Office estimates that it will cost from \$61 to \$125 billion to extend NATO eastward as currently planned (with about 10% to be borne by the U.S.) A free market in Russia is far more important to peace than is weapons modernization in central

"If NATO is pushed eastward, peaceful cooperation between Russia and the West would be jeopardized and the danger of nuclear catastrophe increased."

western European countries and Greece starting as the "European Coal and Steel Community" in 1952 consolidated with the European organizations dealing with economics and nuclear power, and became the "European Community." The organization has evolved so that now, as the EU, it is nearing the status of a single economic entity.

Effective December 31, 1992, the eleven original members achieved that removal of virtually all barriers to the free movement of goods, services, and people among them. In early 1995 they were joined by Austria, Sweden, and Finland. Between 1991 and 1993, the EU signed "association agreements" with six former members of the Warsaw Pact: Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Romania. By 1997 their access to European markets is to be completely liberalized for most industrial products. The agreements aim to include these countries in a single free trade area by the year 2003. The EU has committed itself to the addition itself to the addition of these six as fully equal members in the future.

intrastate conflict, like Bosnia.

- Combating terrorism.
- Damming up the flow of drugs.
- Ridding Europe of nuclear weapons, and suppressing nuclear proliferation elsewhere.

The "Study on Nato Enlargement" published by the Alliance in September 1995 describes the criteria for admission: democracy, individual liberty, rule of law, free markets, democratic and civilian control over the military, resolution of ethnic disputes, environmental responsibility, and absence of border disputes with its neighbors. These criteria are very important. Ignoring them in order to speed Russia's admission could trigger "me too" demands by some nations of central Europe where civilian control of the military is fairly new, and persecution of minorities can readily erupt again. There is a danger, however, that members opposed to Russia's admission to NATO may apply the criteria so strictly that it could take generations for Russia to comply.

Steps Toward Joining

Russia is already in the process of meeting the standards, although it

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(Continued next page)

Europe and "interoperability" with NATO forces.

There are a number of other issues which must be addressed through diplomatic channels. These include: • It will cost Russia Billions of dollars to build single warhead ICBMs to replace its land-based multiple-warhead inventory as required by START II. The U.S. can ease this transition by offering Russia a START III which would allow each side substantially fewer than the 3,500 strategic nuclear warheads limit now imposed by START II. (In an October 17, 1996 address Defense Secretary Perry offered this to the Russian Duma.)

• An undertaking by the European states that are members of both NATO and the EU to accord Russia the status of "Associate" in the EU; matched by America's equivalent elimination of its barriers to the importation of Russia's products and services, and willingness to associate NAFTA with the EU as soon as the Europeans favor a broader free trade area.

Non of these commitments require change in the NATO Treaty, although some of NATO's practices will need reform.

Senior European leaders have repeatedly stated that Russia cannot be a member of NATO, thus reinforcing the Russian perception that today NATO's mission is till to use military force against Russia.

The necessary limitations to be put on new members run counter to NATO's repeated assertions that is will not bestow "second-class citizenship" on new members. This constraint is arbitrary and some change is already being made. At the Foreign Minister's meeting on December 10, 1996, NATO promised that no nuclear weapons would be stationed on the territory of new members; and Germany's Foreign Minister would have NATO declare against stationing its troops there as well. Complete elimination of the constraint would also help clarify the terms for Russian membership in NATO, particularly the proposition that Russia will not be defended in Asia by its fellow NATO members.

American policy makers must be convinced that these changes are essential to peace in Europe and promote this conviction in the minds of the leaders of our European allies.

Russia can help by cooperating with the U.S. in developing proper means for disposing of plutonium (the most dangerous material in the world). This action would help to change the minds of European leaders who feel that Russia cannot be trusted.

Ending U.S. Domination

There is another major adjustment in NATO that could significantly increase its ability to maintain peaceful law and order in Europe. This is the termination of American domination of the organization and its decision-making process. This domination has

frozen the initiative of the European members.

Bosnia is the glaring proof. For three years the actions by Britain, France, and Germany were weak and ineffective in stopping the slaughter. All were looking to U.S. military occupation of the area before they would launch effective efforts to stop the warfare between the factions.

Most European politicians and military officials seem unable to mention the word "NATO" without uttering a tribute to America's leadership and heavy contribution to the Alliance. They are caught between a hunger to continue free-loading on America's military and economic strength, and the desire for independent control of their own foreign and military policies. France in particular wants the NATO chain of command reorganized so that it can operate "under European control."

"The United States should end its military domination of Europe and should exercise wise political leadership to facilitate Russia's inclusion among the states joining a transformed and renamed European military alliance."

The Maastrich Treaty objective of A common Foreign and Security package for the European Union nations, once seen as wishful thinking, is being furthered by a June 1996 decision by NATO's foreign and defense ministers to implement the Combine Joint Task Force concept. This is an ad hoc assembly of forces to deal with unpredictable missions of crisis management and peacekeeping under UN or OSCE auspices. The concept contemplates extensive recourse to the Western European Union. Serious consideration is already being given to making NATO assets (equipment, planning, training, experience, and staffs) available to the WEU.

Once Russia joins the Alliance as a full member there will be no rational justification for permanently stationing 100,000 U.S. troops in Europe, nor for the cost (variously estimated between \$45 and \$90 billion annually) of perpetuating American domination of the continent. The U.S. can abandon its traditional insistence that the top NATO commanders be U.S. offi-

cials.

The American soldiers stationed in Europe can be replaced by a smaller, highly mobile force maintained in the USA. This force can be made available to NATO when and if required by the UN Security Council or the OSCE, both of which include Russia as a member and reach decisions by consensus. Because the most likely call would be for help in a country torn by internal strife, the mobile force need not be armed with the massive capabilities that were considered necessary during the Cold War.

To more accurately reflect the continental nature of the Alliance and to remove the negative emotions associated with the term "NATO" in Russian minds, the Alliance should change its name. The words North Atlantic should be dropped and a more appropriate name such as Pan European Security Alliance should be

want them to join us when it serves our immediate purposed by they cannot be a full-time member of the European security system.

Two Stage Transformation

It is reasonable to anticipate two stages in the transformation of NATO.

In the first, NATO adopts a "Charter" which commits it to helping Russia achieve the criteria for full membership in the Alliance, and gives Russia a consultative voice in the interim. The Alliance can then be extended to Central European countries, but with the restriction that western military forces will not be stationed there. The U.S. further reassures Russia by drastically reducing the American forces it stations in Europe.

In the second stage, when Russia has substantially achieved membership criteria, it becomes a full alliance member. Membership is also offered to Baltic and Balkan countries and to Ukraine—if and when they meet the same criteria. At this point, when all major military nations on the continent belong to the same club, the overall level of armaments can be reduced and remaining American forces can be withdrawn. Relieved of much of their military burdens, these countries will see their prosperity increase. With the nations joined in the same organization, their xenophobic feelings would subside.

Thus, a bright new page of European history will be written.

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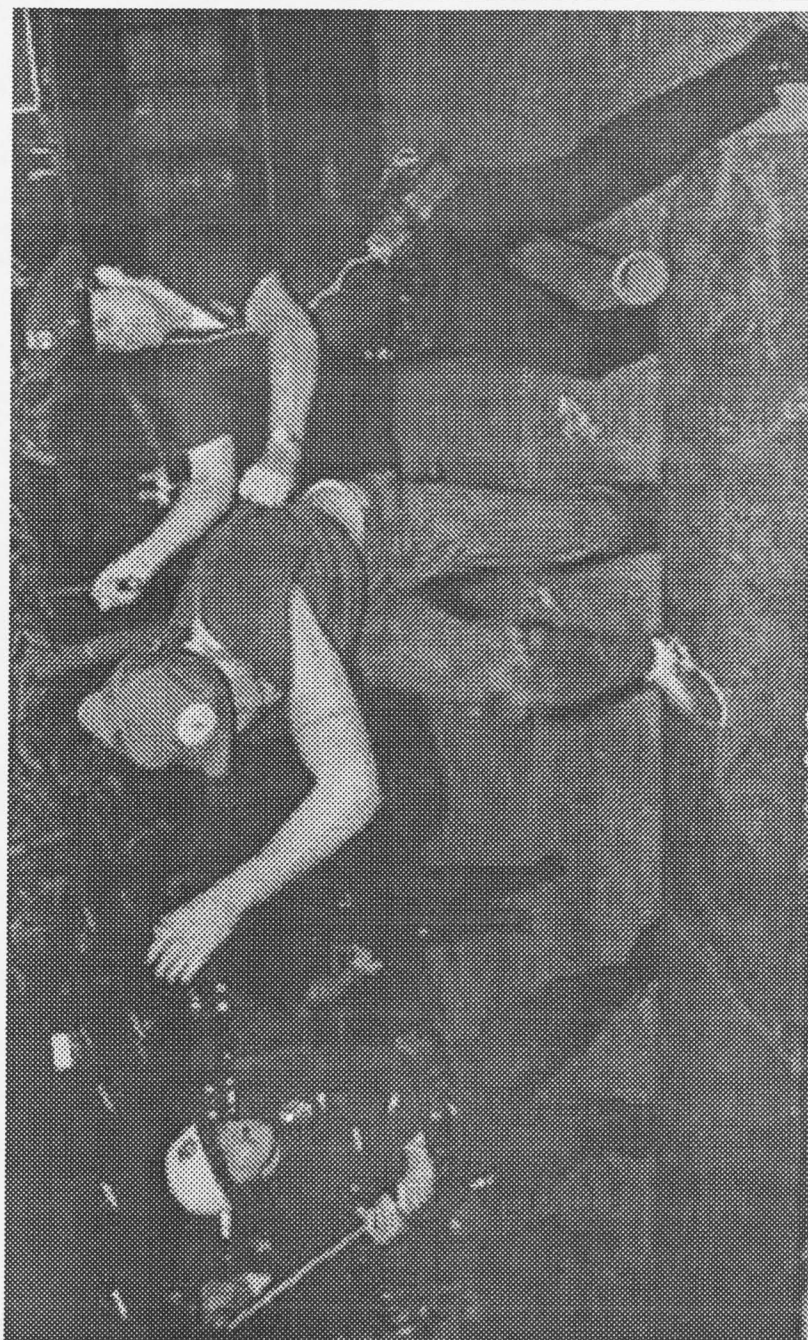
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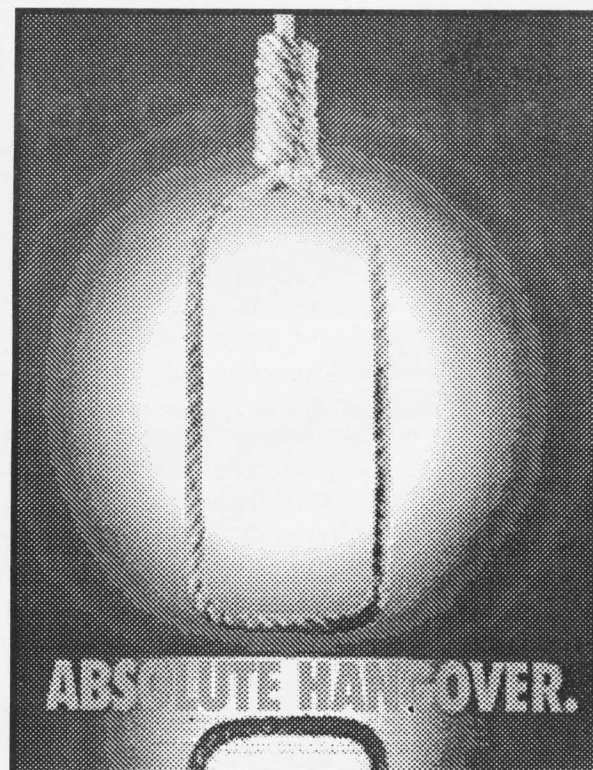
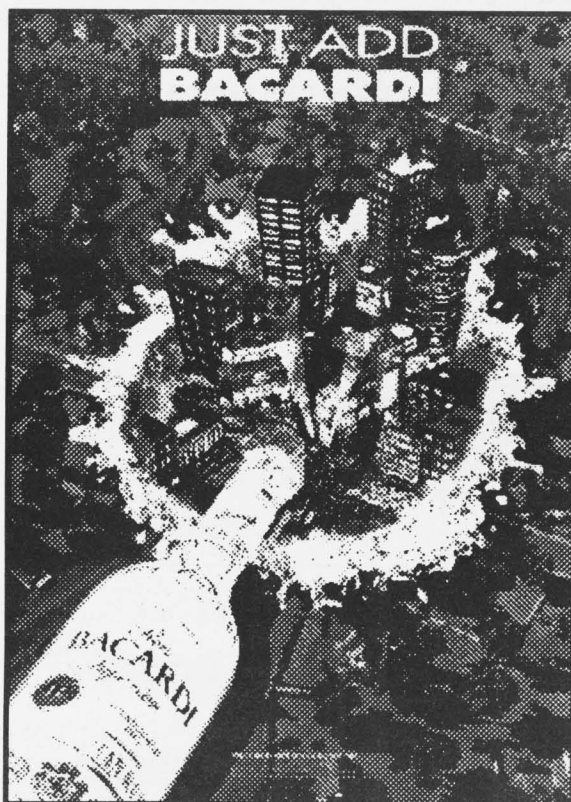
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